

## Maputo Rebels End Talks

### Guerrillas Say Pretoria Favors Mozambique

LISBON — Mozambican anti-communist rebels, charging that Foreign Minister R.F. Botha of South Africa was a biased mediator, said Friday they were abandoning peace negotiations in Pretoria with the Mozambican government.

"The negotiations have come to a dead end without any advantage in our continuing them," said Jorge Correia, a spokesman for the Mozambican National Resistance.

He said the talks, which started Oct. 3 under South African sponsorship, had come to "an end with-out legs to walk on" because the Maputo government lacked "good faith" and Mr. Botha was partial toward the Marxist regime of President Samora Machel.

"There is no point in continuing encounters in Pretoria because P.K. Botha, who has always demonstrated himself to be an unconditional ally of the Marxist-Leninist regime, does not merit our confidence," Mr. Correia said.

The South African government has generally been regarded as the main supporter and source of arms for the resistance, which maintains an office in Portugal, the former colonial ruler of Mozambique.

There was no immediate government confirmation in either Pretoria or Maputo that the talks had collapsed. The rebel announcement came 24 hours after they said they were launching a countrywide offensive to "end militarily" Mr. Machel's government.

There had been little indication of progress in the talks and the rebels had previously threatened to end them.

The cease-fire agreement reached last month followed a March 16 nonaggression treaty between South Africa and Mozambique, in which both countries agreed to withdraw their support for each other's foes, but the guerrilla war escalated.

Diplomats in Lisbon said the guerrilla accusations against Mr. Botha could indicate internal South African divisions with some military hardliners disapproving Pretoria's new policy of rapprochement with Mozambique.



Secretary of State George P. Shultz, arriving in New Delhi Friday, was greeted by P.K. Budhwar, an Indian Foreign Ministry official. Between them is a U.S. Embassy aide.

## Rumors of Slaying Plots Spread by Indian Press

NEW DELHI — Newspapers in New Delhi printed accounts Friday of Indira Gandhi's assassination that were completely unsubstantiated or attributed to unnamed sources. These articles and other reports gave rise to many rumors in the city, which encountered another day of street violence in reaction to the slaying Wednesday.

Indian authorities have said that the two assassins were Sikhs serving on the slain prime minister's security guard. One was killed seconds after Mrs. Gandhi was shot and the other was wounded. Friday's newspaper reports suggested that both the CIA and Indian Army generals were also involved in the slaying.

The U.S. State Department, meanwhile, protested formally to the Soviet Union for insinuating that the CIA had been involved in the slaying of Mrs. Gandhi.

The most startling of the New Delhi rumors in print were in the Statesman newspaper, which claimed that the survivor of the two suspected assassins, Satwant Singh, told investigators that the conspiracy had been planned by unnamed senior Indian Army officers led by a major general.

The Indian Defense Ministry denied that the assassination was part of a wider conspiracy involving army officers. A Defense Ministry spokesman said that an army lieutenant-general had been arrested in connection with the slaying. The spokesman called the reports "totally baseless and malicious."

The Statesman gave elaborate details of Mr. Singh's statements and said he pinpointed the major-general as based in Chandigarh, capital of the Sikh-dominated Punjab state. The Statesman also said that Mr. Singh had told doctors that two security men at the prime minister's residence and the presidential palace had taken vows to assassinate President Zail Singh, and Rajiv Gandhi, the new prime minister.

But J.P. Singh, the surgical superintendent of Lohiya Hospital, where Satwant Singh is under treatment, said the patient had made no statement to anyone.

The Statesman gave no source for its information. It said that Satwant Singh implicated three other men in the plot and that he claimed all the conspirators had made a sacred vow to kill Mrs. Gandhi. The vow was said to have been delivered before a priest in a New Delhi temple regarded as a center of Sikh terrorism.

Concluding its uncorroborated account, the Statesman claimed three Sikhs wearing fake police uniforms tried early Thursday to reach Mr. Singh's hospital bed, presumably to kill him.

A high-level inquiry into the assassination is being conducted in close secrecy, New Delhi police, stunned by the identification of the killers as two of its Sikh members, fended off all requests for information, thereby failing to forestall the rumors.

Even the authoritative Times of India joined in spreading the rumors. It said the security men who fired at the assassins were themselves arrested on suspicion of being involved in the conspiracy.

"The bid to kill the assassins may (Continued on Page 2, Col. 3)



A Sikh child in rubble at his home after riots in the New Delhi suburb of Hari Ashram.

## 'We Know We Will Be the Victims'

### Bombay's Sikhs Wait in Hiding for Violence to Spread

BOMBAY — Surinder Kaur gathered her four small children in the bedroom and spoke to them softly. "You are not to stay out of this house," she said. "Under no circumstances are you to leave the safety of these four walls."

Then she turned to her husband, Bhupinder, and asked if he had obtained the special passport he had requested. No, he had not. Bhupinder Singh told his wife. Why not? Because, he said, he did not think it was safe to move out of their home.

The Singhs are among nearly 300,000 Sikhs who live in this normally vibrant, tolerant cosmopolitan city of seven million people.

But, following the assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi by two of her Sikh bodyguards, Bombay virtually rolled up its sidewalks and shut its businesses in mourning. Sikhs here have been waiting in suspense for what many felt would be the inevitable wave of ethnic violence that would roll down from the turbulent north.

"We know we will be the victims," Bhupinder Singh, a dealer in automobile spare parts, said in his three-room apartment in the suburban community of Sion. "It is only a matter of time. Look what they're doing in the north."

The reference was to reports reaching here of attacks against Sikhs in New Delhi and elsewhere in northern India. Most of these reports reached Sikh families by phone from relatives in the north. The government-owned radio and television networks carried virtually no details about the ethnic violence. Nor did local newspapers, which few Sikhs dared to go out and buy.

Neighborhoods such as Sion, Koliwada and North Dadar contain significant Sikh enclaves. Bombay has a mottled history of strife between Hindus and Muslims, but Sikhs have traditionally lived in harmony with non-Sikhs here. Many Sikhs own automobile shops or work in the automobile spare-parts business. Some Sikhs operate restaurants. Others are carpenters and handymen. In this city (Continued on Page 2, Col. 5)

## Political Foes Of Rajiv Gandhi Criticize Failure To Curb Rioting

By William Claiborne  
Washington Post Service

NEW DELHI — Less than 48 hours after he was sworn in as India's sixth prime minister, Rajiv Gandhi was condemned by opposition leaders for failing to control the violence that has followed his mother's assassination.

The official death toll in the sectarian rioting climbed far beyond the government's official totals, and mob rampages continued in many states. Unofficially, more than 500 people have died, 200 of them in New Delhi.

Mr. Gandhi, 40, appealed Friday in an unscheduled television broadcast for an end to "communal madness" that he said would weaken the unity of India.

Indian news agencies reported Friday night that the entire security staff at the prime minister's residence had been disbanded and replaced with intelligence agents of the central government. Indira Gandhi was shot and killed Wednesday by two police guards, both Sikhs, who had been assigned to the house to protect the prime minister.

While government spokesmen insisted that order had been restored in New Delhi and throughout most of India, the violence continued. Thursday night, a government spokesman claimed that only 12 persons had died in sectarian rioting, two of them in New Delhi, and on Friday the state-run radio and television referred to unofficial figures compiled by Indian news agencies as "wild rumors."

Mr. Gandhi Friday night assured his party officials that the situation was "under control."

But at a police morgue in north Delhi on Friday, nearly 200 bodies, many of them charred beyond recognition, were stacked three high in rooms overflowing with their relatives, awaiting autopsies by an overburdened medical examiner's staff.

L.T. Ramani, chief of the Subzi Mandi police mortuary, was asked about the government's low death figures. "Maybe they are not aware of details," he replied. "There is no question of hiding bodies."

Some of the victims, mainly Sikhs attacked by Hindus, were pulled out of trains by mobs and killed on railroad platforms. Twenty-seven passengers were killed on trains in Haryana state, according to the United News of India, and other massacres aboard trains were reported in other northern Indian states. Haryana borders the predominantly Sikh state of Punjab.

Police fired at a violent mob at the Charbagh railway station near Lucknow, after two Sikh passengers were killed and a dozen injured while the train was at rest on the platform. More than 50 passengers were given shelter in the station.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 6)



Svetlana Peters

## Svetlana Back In Moscow 17 Years After Her Defection

By Dusky Doder  
Washington Post Service

MOSCOW — Svetlana Alliluyeva Peters, the only daughter of Stalin, has returned to the Soviet Union 17 years after she defected to the United States and repudiated the Soviet system.

An official announcement issued Friday afternoon said Mrs. Peters' Soviet citizenship, of which she was stripped in 1969, was restored to her by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the nominal parliament.

The Presidium also conferred Soviet citizenship on her daughter, Olga, 13, who was born in the United States. Olga's father is an American architect, William L. Peters, whom Mrs. Peters, 38, married in 1970. The marriage broke up two years later.

Her defection in 1967 created a worldwide sensation and caused a major propaganda blow to the Kremlin. Her return created a similar sensation here Friday night as the announcement was read over the main television evening news broadcast and also published in Izvestia, the government newspaper.

The circumstances of her return to Moscow were not disclosed and it was not possible to reach her or members of her family. Officials said Mrs. Peters and her daughter were with relatives. It is believed that the family was at their country home in Zlatkovka, outside Moscow.

Mrs. Peters appeared to have arrived here within the past 10 days. (Continued on Page 2, Col. 7)



A detail from 'The Birds,' by Vassily Kandinsky. Michael Gibson takes a look at a new Paris show.

■ The U.S. and Nicaragua failed to narrow differences in talks in Mexico, U.S. and Nicaraguan officials said. Page 3.

■ On its 30th anniversary, Algeria appears to be discarding part of its revolutionary past and moderating its foreign policy. Page 5.

SPECIAL REPORT

■ American collectors are showing their growing expertise in the world's art auction markets. Page 7.

BUSINESS/FINANCE

■ The dollar continued to fall sharply on fears of lower U.S. interest rates and a slowing of the economy. Page 13.

■ Louie sold its 29.9-percent interest in House of Fraser to an Egyptian company for £138.3 million (\$173.6 million). Page 13.

## 2 Polish Colonels Held In Murder of Priest

By Michael T. Kaufman  
New York Times Service

WARSAW — The Polish government announced Friday that two high-ranking security officers were ordered detained and a general was suspended for dereliction of duty in the continuing investigation of the murder of the Reverend Jerzy Popieluszko.

The detained officers were identified as Colonel Adam P., who was described as a deputy director of a department in the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Lieutenant Colonel Leszek W., chief of a division in the Warsaw municipal department of internal affairs.

The announcement came as the body of the priest, a supporter of the banned trade union Solidarity, was brought to his parish church, where his funeral services and burial are to be held Saturday.

Father Popieluszko was found dead Tuesday in a reservoir on the Vistula River. He had been kidnapped Oct. 19 in the northern city of Torun. Three lower-ranking police officers in the Internal Affairs Ministry have already been charged in the case.

At the same time, General Zenon Piatek, who supervised one of the colonels, was ordered suspended.

Jerzy Urban, the government spokesman, said in an interview that an autopsy on the priest's body was completed Thursday and confirmed that the priest had been murdered. Mr. Urban said that as a result of this determination he expected the three suspects originally seized for the crime would be formally charged with murder soon.

Mr. Urban said that the political opposition was seeking to exploit the situation for political ends.

He appeared on the nightly television news saying that attempts by some Solidarity sympathizers to create committees to monitor the police had no legal basis. He also said that the outlawed Committee for the Defense of Workers, or KOR, would not be permitted to resurrect itself over the body of Father Popieluszko.

As the white coffin containing his body was brought to the church Friday evening from Bialystok, where the autopsy was performed, a crowd of thousands of emotional mourners surged toward it.

Lech Walesa and other Solidarity activists arrived here from Gdansk for the funeral. Mr. Walesa asked that the funeral take place in "a silence of sorrow and hope" for national reconciliation.



Mourners lit candles outside of St. Stanislaw Church in Warsaw in honor of the Reverend Jerzy Popieluszko.

## Reagan, Mondale Coveting New York In Late Contest for the Vital Northeast

By Howell Raines  
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — President Ronald Reagan and Walter F. Mondale are waging a last-minute battle for this state's electoral votes, the biggest prize in the key Northeastern region.

As Tuesday's election approaches, Mr. Reagan appears to have a solid lead in the region. But Mr. Mondale's advisers contend that an intensive effort by him and his running mate, Representative Geraldine A. Ferraro, has increased the "volatility" in the industrial Northeast enough to tighten the contests in some states.

Throughout the region, a common line of analysis unites officials on both sides: If Mondale cannot win in the Northeast, he is unlikely to win anywhere.

Strategists on both sides agreed that Pennsylvania, with 25 electoral votes, was the most closely contested state in the region.

The four presidential and vice presidential candidates all campaigned in New York on Thursday.

The Reagan re-election campaign viewed the visits by the president and Vice President George Bush as part of an effort to preclude any chance Mr. Mondale might have of attaining the 270 electoral votes needed to win on Tuesday, New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey are the cornerstones of that strategy.

Reagan campaign officials have scheduled a series of tough television commercials in Pennsylvania in an effort to protect the president's diminishing lead. One Reagan strategist said the incumbent's lead was down to 5 percentage points in Pennsylvania, while the Reagan lead in New York, with 36 electoral votes, was about 10 points in the Republicans' surveys.

Mondale officials said they had not been polling in the Northeast, but they did not contest the assertion that Mr. Reagan was leading throughout an 11-state region that has more than one-fourth of the nation's 538 electoral votes.

Aside from Pennsylvania, Mr. Mondale appears to be strongest in Rhode Island, Massachusetts and Maryland. Reagan strategists count Connecticut and New Jersey, whose total of 16 electoral votes is the third highest in the region, as safe for the president.

At the same time Israel withdraws from southern Lebanon.

Instead, Israeli officials say they want Syria to guarantee that its soldiers in eastern Lebanon will not advance, and will prevent Palestinian guerrillas from infiltrating territory evacuated by Israeli troops.

In expressing Syria's approval of the talks, Mr. Khaddam said:

"Syria is not prepared whether directly or indirectly, through or without intermediaries, to give any guarantees, commitments or participation to the Israelis or non-Israelis. This is final."

Mr. Khaddam's visit was his second to Lebanon since Syria emerged as the main power broker in Lebanon after the collapse of a U.S. peacekeeping effort in February.

Syria pressured President Amin Gemayel into scrapping the U.S.-sponsored pact on troop withdrawals, contending that it gave Israel political and military concessions that threatened Syria's security.

## Beirut Paper Says Lebanon May Ask U.K., France to Patrol Israeli Border

BEIRUT — Lebanon may propose that British and French troops police the Lebanese-Israeli border as part of future security arrangements to end Israel's occupation of southern Lebanon, a Beirut newspaper reported Friday.

The independent An-Nahar, which has close contacts with the government, said the proposal was expected to be put forward in talks with Israel that are scheduled to begin Monday under United Nations auspices.

An-Nahar said the proposal was intended to resolve a controversy over which force should guard the 60-mile (97-kilometer) border strip after an Israeli pullout.

The newspaper said the proposal calls for the addition of British troops to the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon. The new troops would team up with a French contingent already in the area and both would be assigned to police a strip six to nine miles wide immediately north of the Israeli frontier.

France currently has a contingent of about 1,300 men in the UN force, which comprises about 5,200 soldiers from nine nations. Britain has never been part of the force, which has been stationed in southern Lebanon since Israel's invasion of the country in the spring of 1982.

Both Britain and France, along with Italy and the United States, supplied troops for the multinational peacekeeping force that pulled out of Beirut last February and March.

The capital, now under the tenuous control of the Lebanese Army, has been relatively calm in recent weeks, but police reported gunbattles Friday along sections of the Green Line that separates the city's Muslim and Christian sectors.

Police had no immediate details on what set off the shooting but said the army closed several crossings. Seven persons were reportedly hurt.

The British foreign secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, on a visit to Israel earlier this week, said Britain would "give consideration" to joining the UN force after an Israeli withdrawal.

Israel has been insisting that the Israeli-supported South Lebanon Army militia be put in charge of security in the border area, but Syria and Lebanon reportedly oppose the demand.

On Thursday, Vice President Abdul-Halim Khaddam of Syria declared his country's support for the UN-sponsored talks to end Israel's occupation, but said Syria would not provide guarantees against future movement of Syrian troops in Lebanon or guerrilla attacks against Israel.

Meanwhile, U.S. and Israeli officials met in Jerusalem, and Syrian and Lebanese leaders conferred in Beirut to set the stage for the talks.

Israel has dropped a demand that Syria withdraw the soldiers it has stationed in Lebanon since 1976



## U.S., Nicaragua Failed To Narrow Differences In Mexico Negotiations

By Philip Taubman  
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — A series of recent talks between the United States and Nicaragua to Mexico have failed to narrow major differences between the two countries, according to U.S. and Nicaraguan officials. U.S. officials said the negotiations have stalled.

Meanwhile, it was learned here that William J. Casey, the director of Central Intelligence, wrote a letter to members of Congress last month defending a CIA manual for Nicaraguan rebels that advocates kidnapping and assassinating officials.

Mr. Casey's two-page letter, dated Oct. 25, is the first statement to be made public that expresses the agency's view of the document, which has been sharply criticized in Congress. The White House had said any CIA official "involved in the development" of the manual "or approval of it" would be dismissed.

U.S. and Nicaraguan representatives met at the Mexican Pacific resort of Manzanillo on Tuesday and Wednesday, their seventh negotiating session since Secretary of State George P. Shultz made an unexpected visit to Nicaragua in June.

### Sandinists Seen Winners Of Elections On Sunday

The Associated Press

MANAGUA — Nicaraguans vote Sunday in an election seen to give the leftist Sandinist government an overwhelming victory, but not the international legitimacy it so badly wanted.

The elections for president, vice president and the 90 members of the national assembly pit the Sandinists against weak, little-known opponents. Missing from the race are any contenders with large popular followings.

Although the talks were said to have progressed better than expected during the summer, generating a ripple of optimism that tensions might be reduced, Reagan administration officials said it was now clear that the discussions had stalled after an initial exchange of proposals. They said it was not clear whether the talks would continue after elections in Nicaragua and the United States in the coming week.

Two administration officials familiar with the discussions said Thursday that the United States had declined to modify proposals first offered in August that called for major concessions on security issues by Nicaragua. The officials said that the proposals did not detail what reciprocal steps would be taken by Washington.

State Department officials, defending their position, said Nicaragua's counterproposals called for equally large concessions by the United States, including the removal of all U.S. forces from Central America and the dismantling of military bases in Honduras improved by the United States in recent years.

The proposal presented by the administration in August called for the withdrawal of all Soviet and Cuban military advisers from Nicaragua within nine months of the signing of an agreement, the two administration officials said. In return, according to a copy of the proposal made available by one of the officials, the United States said it was prepared to take removal of the advisers "into consideration" when setting the level of U.S. forces in Central America.

The United States, according to the proposal, also offered not to mine Nicaraguan harbors or attack oil storage installations if Nicaragua would close down a communications center in Managua that the administration says has been used to direct guerrilla operations in El Salvador. The mining and attacks,



President Suazo walked through La Paz under heavy guard last week.

### Honduras's Suazo Under Heavy Guard As FBI Foils Plot

The Associated Press

MIAMI — President Roberto Suazo Córdova of Honduras was reported to be under guard by 800 soldiers Friday after the FBI intercepted what authorities said was a plot to kill Mr. Suazo and overthrow his government by exiles based in the United States.

A Honduran presidential spokesman, who spoke on condition that he not be identified by name, said Mr. Suazo was in his hometown of La Paz, 51 miles (83 kilometers) north of Tegucigalpa, on Thursday night.

Eight men were arrested Thursday in Miami and a warrant was issued for a ninth, General José Bueso-Rosa, the Honduran military attaché in Chile.

An FBI agent who infiltrated the plot was to be paid \$300,000 to put together a team that would go to Honduras and kill Mr. Suazo, said Joseph V. Coriess, head of the Miami FBI office.

The exiles, who called themselves "staunch anti-communists," were going to finance the operation through the sale of more than \$10 million in cocaine seized by authorities, the FBI said.

which were directed by the CIA, were stopped in April because of congressional opposition.

Casey Explains Manual  
Joel Brinkley of The New York Times reported in Washington:

In his letter, Mr. Casey said the "trust and purpose" of the CIA manual were, "on the whole, quite different from the impression that has been created in the media."

He said the manual's purpose was "to make every guerrilla operative in face-to-face communication" and to develop "political awareness," adding that its "emphasis is on education, avoiding combat if necessary."

Mr. Casey's letter was sent to members of the Senate and House intelligence committees, along with a translated and annotated copy of the manual and of another agency document for the insurgents, a rebel "code of conduct." Both committees are investigating to see if the agency acted improperly in preparing the manual.

Prisoners Exchanged

For the first time since the guerrilla war began nearly three years ago, the Nicaraguan government this past week exchanged prisoners with insurgents. The New York Times reported from Managua, On Wednesday, the government

released three young Miskito Indians accused of taking part in subversive acts. The day before, rebels turned over Ray Hooker and Patricia Delgado, two Sandinist officials captured in September, and the bodyguard who had accompanied them.

The annotations of the manual show how the document was edited at CIA headquarters. Agency officials told two members of the Senate Intelligence Committee a week ago that "a great part of" the manual "was excised before printing." Senator Malcolm Wallop, Republican of Wyoming, said after the CIA briefing.

## Reagan, Mondale Both Weave Myths About President's Record in Office

By David Hoffman  
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — President Ronald Reagan and Walter F. Mondale have spun a series of conflicting myths about Mr. Reagan's record in their battle for the White House, each painting sweeping, symbolic portraits that greatly misstate or oversimplify the complex reality of what Mr. Reagan has done since 1981.

This year's campaign myths, knitted out of exaggeration and omission, have largely focused on the Reagan domestic policy record: one that the president hails as a forward-looking "revolution" and which Mr. Mondale decries as an "unfair" step backward.

At times, both candidates try to perpetuate the same myths, but for different reasons.

For example, Mr. Reagan has portrayed himself as a champion of fiscal restraint, a notion that Mr. Mondale reinforces when he complains about unfair budget cuts in social programs.

In reality, what Mr. Reagan accomplished was a shift in budget priorities, not an overall reduction. In his term, the federal government's share of the gross national product — the total value of the nation's goods and services — was at any time since World War II.

Both Mr. Mondale and Mr. Reagan have perpetuated the myth that the Reagan tax cuts were extraordinary. But the reality is that Mr. Reagan's across-the-board tax cut was a historical correction that only brought tax burdens back to the levels just before the big inflationary spurt of the late 1970s, and Mr. Reagan then took back about one-third of his original tax cut in later tax increases.

Mr. Reagan insists that the huge federal deficits can be easily melted away by a combination of economic growth and further spending cuts. But his own senior analysts, and most of those outside the government who have looked at the problem, say this is impossible. If re-elected, Mr. Reagan will face hard fiscal realities that bear no

resemblance to the easy solutions he has described in the campaign.

Mr. Mondale perpetuates the myth that Mr. Reagan's defense build-up is excessive and can be reduced. But the reality is that lower inflation and congressional cutbacks have trimmed the Reagan

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defense budget to levels that are not much higher than what President Jimmy Carter projected in his final year in office, when Mr. Mondale was vice president.

Mr. Reagan also fosters the myth that he wants government to be less intrusive in people's lives. But the reality is that while he follows this principle on economic issues, he has abandoned it on many social and moral issues.

For example, Mr. Reagan signed a bill forcing states to raise their drinking age or lose some federal highway aid, a direct use of federal intervention. He fought for and signed legislation in which the government forces high schools receiving federal money to open their facilities to religious as well as non-religious groups. He also has advocated injecting the government into such religious and moral issues as abortion and prayer in schools.

The myths of the 1984 campaign center on the tax and spending is-

suess that Mr. Reagan put at center stage from his first day in the presidency.

Mr. Reagan fosters the myth that he has reduced the budget, telling audiences that he trimmed the rate of growth in government spending from 17 percent to 6 percent and declaring that he intends to further reduce spending as a share of gross national product.

But Mr. Reagan also tries to make spending a virtue when he wants to refute allegations that he has hurt the poor. "We can show that in every instance and in every program we are spending more money and helping more people than ever before in our history," he says. And, he insists, it is "just not true" that "we have been trying to balance the budget on the backs of the needy."

He does not point out that spending on programs for the needy would be less if Congress had given him cuts he sought.

Mr. Mondale has complained about the unfairness of these domestic budget cuts, from Social Security to education and job-training programs. But Mr. Mondale's own budget plan includes only a selective restoration of such cuts, and suggests he would follow a general path of fiscal restraint — with different priorities than Mr. Reagan — in trying to meet his goal of reducing the deficit by two-thirds over five years.

## CAMPAIGN BRIEFS

### Powerful Post for Quiet Congressman

JEFFERSONVILLE, Indiana (LAT) — Barring an election upset, one of the least-known members of Congress will soon be one of the most powerful: Representative Lee F. Hamilton, a taciturn Indiana Democrat, is in line to become chairman of the House Intelligence Committee.

Mr. Hamilton, who has cultivated a low profile during his 20 years in Congress, will become only the second chairman of the intelligence committee since its creation six years ago. He has prepared an ambitious agenda. It includes reviews of presidentially ordered covert activities around the world, which have ranged from supporting rebels in Nicaragua to financing moderate politicians in Africa.

The Democrat-controlled House committee, which has seemed more determined to play its watchdog role recently than has its Republican-led Senate counterpart, will also "look into the quality and cost-effectiveness of the intelligence product," Mr. Hamilton said. The nation's intelligence budget, which is secret, reportedly is about \$10 billion a year.

### LaRouche Must Pay NBC \$3.2 Million

WASHINGTON (WP) — A federal court jury in Alexandria, Virginia, has awarded \$3.2 million to NBC Television in a suit against Lyndon H. LaRouche Jr., an independent presidential candidate. The suit was filed after Mr. LaRouche sued the network for libel.

Earlier Thursday, the U.S. District Court jury rejected Mr. LaRouche's \$150-million libel suit against the network. Jurors found that there was no evidence that network broadcasts, which charged that Mr. LaRouche and his followers engaged in smear campaigns and threatened to kill President Jimmy Carter, were false.

NBC's countersuit, in which the jury made the award, was based on a claim that Mr. LaRouche's followers impersonated NBC reporters while attempting to sabotage a scheduled interview with Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Democrat of New York.

[The CIA acknowledged Thursday that Mr. LaRouche, 62, an ultra-conservative politician who will be listed on presidential ballots in 18 states, had met with top CIA officials, apparently on matters of national security, United Press International reported. The comments followed a report to that effect in The New Republic magazine.]

## AMERICAN TOPICS

### A Star Performance: Picking the Generals

For two months this summer, one full general, four lieutenant generals and 16 major generals gathered at the Military Personnel Center near the Pentagon to pore over the records of 2,600 U.S. Army colonels: efficiency reports, health records and letters of commendation or criticism. At issue was the selection of 64 new brigadier generals.

Of the army's 4,700 colonels, only 200 will ever make it to brigadier general. Once having gained that first star, however, about 140 will eventually win a second to become major generals. Beyond that, only a few will be selected for three- or four-star rank.

In the summer selection sessions, each general graded each colonel on a scale of 6 ("absolutely" should be promoted) to 1 ("absolutely not"). The ratings were fed into a computer to establish an order of merit. Then the generals sat around a table to argue, with those personally acquainted with a particular colonel speaking for, or against, him.

Finally, after the approval of the chief of staff, General John A. Wickham Jr., and the secretary of the army, John O. Marsh Jr., the list of colonels to be promoted was submitted by President Ronald Reagan to the Senate last month. Three days later the Senate approved the list.

### Nature's Comeback At Mount St. Helens

Nature is engaged in a remarkable comeback from the 1980 eruption of Mount St. Helens in Washington state that snuffed out animal life and burned forests and foliage for miles around.

The blast zone still looks like a moonscape from a distance, but a closer look reveals tiny green ravines, aspen holes, coyote dens and lakes with 14-inch trout. All the plant species that were there before the eruption are there now.

Thom Corcoran of the U.S. Forest Service said, "The area has had innumerable eruptions in the last million years. Things are used to being knocked off the hill and slowly growing back."

Many animals are beginning to return, like deer and elk, goats and field mice. But the mountain goats were all killed. There is talk of shipping some in from Mount Rainier, 50 miles (80 kilometers) north.

### New Editor Gets Their Irish Down

Many staff members at The Boston Globe are openly unhappy about impending changes at the top. Thomas Winship, 64, will retire in January as editor, having led the paper to 11 Pulitzer prizes. He will be succeeded by Michael C. Janeway, 44, editor of The Atlantic Monthly for 11 years.

The Globe's newsroom mirrors Boston's traditional tension between the Brahmins of the old New England families and the Boston Irish. One Irishman in the newsroom said that for many of his colleagues, "Janeway's got one thing wrong with him as far as they're concerned: he's not Irish."

Neither was Mr. Winship, whose ruffled raincoat and hand-tied bow ties send out instant signals that he is a Brahmin to his fingertips. But Mr. Winship loved the Irish journalists for their singular way with the language. He hired, among others, Mike Barnacle, whose column routinely ridicules Brahmins with nicknames like "Poole" who speak through cemented teeth — often, undoubtedly, to complain to Mr. Winship about being ridiculed.

"There is a big fear of the unknown which I have recognized," says the new editor. "Now, I will start taking a lot of people to lunch and start doing a lot of listening."

### State-of-the-Art Jail Gets Wires Crossed

The new Travis County jail in Austin, Texas, cost \$12 million, including a state-of-the-art electronic locking system. Trouble was, when the intercom was turned on, a cell door unlocked. When a fire alarm went off, all the cells unlocked.

The county is now spending \$3 million for repairs, including ripping out the electronic locks, wiring, and control boards and starting over, according to Sheriff Doyle Bailey.

The company that installed the electronic locks can't be sued for damages because it has declared itself bankrupt.

### Short Takes

The Vandenberg Christian Home in Evansville, Indiana, for 114 years a discreet haven for "girls in trouble," says it is closing its doors, forced out of business by the growing acceptability of unwed motherhood.

The Girl Scouts of the U.S.A. have announced that they will begin admitting 5-year-old girls to a new category of Scout membership, Daisy Girl Scouts. Until now, the youngest Girl Scouts have been Brownies, who can join at the age of 6. The Daisies will have — in addition to the usual day camps, group singing and arts and crafts — driver training classes using tricycles.

Officials of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine on Morningside Heights in Manhattan, the world's largest Gothic cathedral, are opening an \$80-million fund-raising campaign Sunday to complete the 92-year-old edifice and to endow its social and artistic programs. Construction has been interrupted so often the place has been nicknamed "St. John the Unfinished."

—Compiled by ARTHUR HIGBEE

## Brothel Case Focuses on U.S. 'Puritan'

By Margot Hornblower  
Washington Post Service

NEW YORK — Sydney Biddle Barrows is a prep, a descendant of two Mayflower Pilgrims, a slender blond who wears designer clothes, vacations in the Hamptons and contributes to charity. "Very WASP, very straight, very much the puritan," says a former boyfriend.

An entrepreneur, the 32-year-old executive advertised her business in the Yellow Pages, noting "Credit Cards Welcome." The business, according to the Manhattan District Attorney's Office, employed 15 phone lines and was the largest prostitution ring known to the police department. It grossed more than \$1 million a year.

The case of the "Mayflower Madam," as New York's tabloids have called Miss Barrows since she was arrested last month, offers more than a peep into the booming business of high-class prostitution.

When 10 police officers broke down the door of Miss Barrows's Cabbie II and Finesse escort services on West 74th Street, they confiscated extensive records, including a list of 3,000 clients, many of them business executives in prominent American, European and Asian corporations, police said.

The prostitution business "has gone from pimps with red Cadillacs and fedoras to classy women descended from the Mayflower," said Al Goldstein, publisher of *Seventeen* magazine, which features 27 pages of call-girl ads this month and is displayed on streetcorner newsstands. "It's a business, just like McDonald's," he said. "It has marketing, health insurance, cost controls and public relations. It's a well-run business."

Lieutenant William Bayer of the New York police's public morals division estimates that aside from the 12,000 yearly arrests of "traditionalist" streetwalkers, there are at least 30 call-girl outfits operating in the city, with as many as 30 to 60 women in each. "They advertise freely," he said, adding that police rarely investigate them unless there is a complaint.

Among the more recent cases: Two men pleaded guilty last spring to operating a Lexington Avenue church as a front for a prostitution ring. The Church of Sharing featured naked hostesses, a bar, a buffet, a sauna and two "mat rooms." A Manhattan psychiatrist pleaded guilty to insurance fraud this year for filing phony claims with Blue Cross-Blue Shield for \$115-an-hour



Sydney B. Barrows being escorted by a policeman after she surrendered to the District Attorney's Office in New York.

"sex therapy" sessions at a 34th Street prostitution outfit that called itself Health Management Centers.

Apart from a brief interchange with a Daily News reporter in which she said she was "a nice girl," Miss Barrows has refused to talk to the press since her arrest. Her case will be bound over to the grand jury this month, according to the District Attorney's Office.

In her single affidavit so far in the case, Miss Barrows said: "I have no record of convictions and although I am currently under a single charge of promoting prostitution, I believe I will be vindicated." She turned herself in several days after the police raid and is now free on \$7,500 bail.

Police say Miss Barrows's escort services, employing as many as 30 women, charged clients \$125 to \$400 an hour. Many of the prostitutes were students, models or aspiring actresses who worked part-time, police said. Miss Barrows gave them training sessions in etiquette and required regular health checkups.

While newspapers continued to speculate on the identities of alleged clients, including a couple of well-known athletes and a wealthy Arab, police refused to confirm more details. Lieutenant Bayer said: "I ain't gonna tell you who's on the list. A lot of innocent people shouldn't get their names smeared. They may have engaged in sex, they may not

## Regan May Urge End to Deductions

By Martha M. Hamilton  
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Treasury Secretary Donald T. Regan, developing a second-term tax proposal for consideration by President Ronald Reagan, has tentatively approved phasing out the income-tax deduction for state and local taxes, including property taxes, and taxing all unemployment compensation and workman's compensation, according to a source.

Such a move would be politically controversial, particularly for low- and moderate-income taxpayers, who are allowed to exclude unemployment and workman's compensation benefits from taxation.

All homeowners would lose their property-tax deduction, and individuals who live in states with relatively high state income taxes be particularly hurt by the loss of deductions for those taxes.

President Reagan, who is under attack on the tax issue by Democrats, has promised not to use tax reform as a guise for raising taxes. The Democratic presidential nominee, Walter F. Mondale, has charged that Mr. Reagan, if re-elected, has a secret plan to raise taxes.

In his State of the Union address, President Reagan asked the Treasury Department for a tax proposal taking into account the need for fairness and economic efficiency. He asked that it be delivered after Tuesday's election.

Treasury officials have talked frequently of the need to broaden the tax base as part of a new tax plan, and the three tentative proposals are among dozens of options. But major decisions influencing the ultimate shape of the proposal remain to be made, the source said.

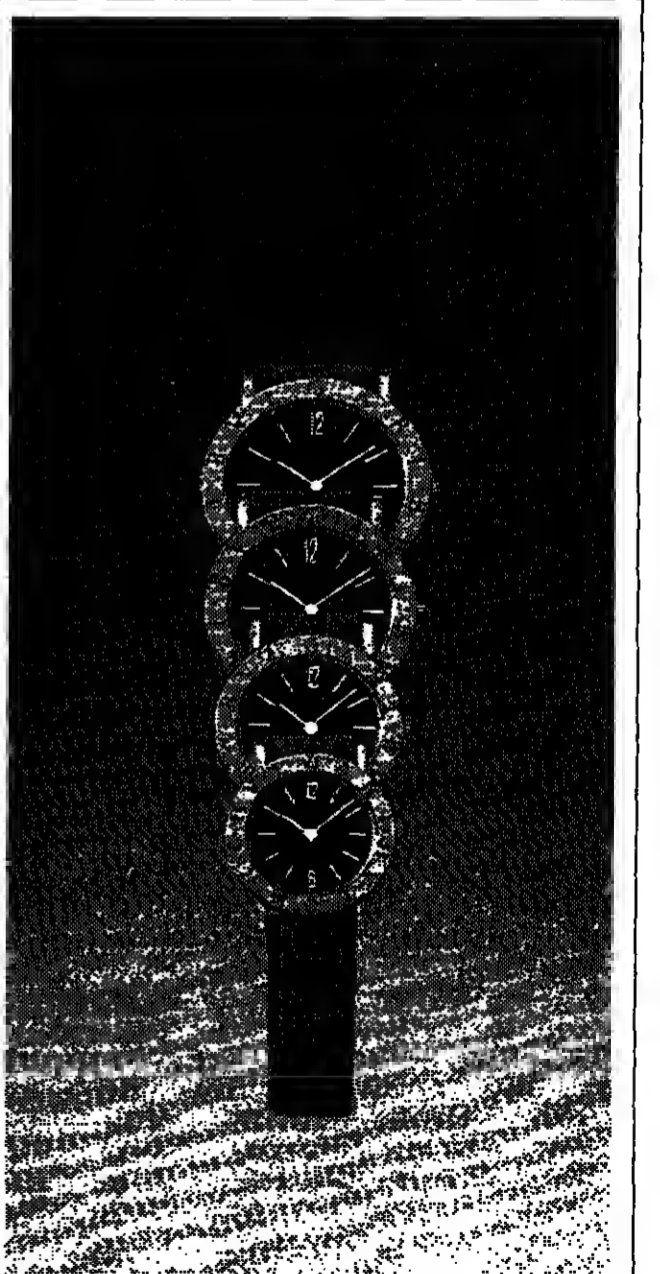
The officials have said they are leaning toward a proposal to simplify taxes that would lower income tax rates as the base is broadened by the elimination of deductions and exclusions.

Alfred H. Kingon, assistant treasury secretary for policy and public affairs, refused Thursday to comment on any specific change that might be under consideration as part of the Treasury proposal.

He emphasized that every option must meet several tests, including fairness and economic efficiency as well as how well it fits into the overall package of measures to be recommended.

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# INTERNATIONAL Herald Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

## Doing More for Ethiopia

A sharp little political dispute has broken out over whether the Reagan administration has moved smartly enough to meet the tremendous famine in Ethiopia. The answer is that the United States has not done as much as it might if Ethiopia were still a friendly country, but it has done much more than it would have if it were doing out aid by strictly political criteria. It is an unlikely subject for Americans to be arguing over in an election campaign, but the dispute will have been useful if it generates further help for those in need.

And Ethiopians, and many other Africans, are in need. Hundreds, perhaps thousands, are starving weekly, and millions are threatened in what is described as a crisis of historic proportions. It is terrible. The relief that Western donors now send to Ethiopia can have a life-or-death effect for very great numbers of human beings in distress.

The unfortunate fact remains that it is simply not within the power of these donors to spare Ethiopia the brunt of its government's own decisions over the last 10 years. Growing more food and assuring its proper distribution have not been high priorities for Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam. He has had other things on his mind: consolidating his power, making his country the first in Africa to be ruled by a Communist Party, increasing the strength of his army, and putting down insurgencies in

secessionist provinces. Emperor Haile Selassie was toppled from power partly by the political and social effects of a famine in 1973-74, one for which his policies also had a responsibility. This may account for some of Colonel Mengistu's slowness to acknowledge that his government is presiding over a national catastrophe — a slowness that has translated itself into a reluctance to seek timely and ample international assistance.

The weather has been bad, but official policies depressing agriculture have also been bad. The colonel has deliberately denied food to people starving in secessionist areas, notwithstanding the effort of the international agencies to pry relief in. In socialist Ethiopia, those who are starving are at the bottom of the power pyramid and have no one to represent them at the top.

Americans have no basis to claim they have done enough by Ethiopia. But the Soviet Union has been the direct sponsor of the Ethiopian policies that have aggravated the human and economic costs of the famine. Heat should be put on the Kremlin, which has behaved recklessly and cynically in this situation. It is only now beginning to provide a modicum of relief for the client whose welfare it professes to care about. Still, there is more that this country can do — and it should.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

## The Saudis and OPEC

Running a cartel is no bed of roses. It sounds simple in theory. You only have to hold down production in order to hold up prices. But how does it work in practice? Ask the Saudis about oil and OPEC.

There has been widespread cheating among members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries on production ceilings, a common failing in cartels. The Saudis underestimated the success with which their customers in the industrial world would conserve energy and cut oil imports. When Saudi Arabia forced the rest of OPEC to follow it in lowering prices from \$34 a barrel to \$29 in early 1983, a tacit promise was made: Saudi Arabia was to absorb any further production cuts necessary to enforce the new price. But the necessary cuts have turned out to be far larger than anyone expected 21 months ago.

Even with a strong recovery of the American economy, world oil consumption is running much lower than most forecasts indicated. The failure of the annual stock-building surge to appear this year was the immediate cause of the price cuts of the past several weeks. And those cuts in turn were the reason for OPEC's anxious meeting this past week in Geneva.

OPEC's policy and power come down essentially to Saudi Arabian policy and power. The Saudis have generally succeeded, over time, in imposing their purposes on their partners. In

the years after the Iranian revolution they feared that the oil radicals with their extremely high prices would wreck the market for oil, and they played the moderate in pushing prices down — moderately. Now Saudi Arabia and its smaller neighbors along the west side of the Gulf are to absorb nearly two-thirds of the production cuts on which OPEC has agreed.

The Saudis, capable of producing more than 10 million barrels of oil a day, have been able to reduce the actual flow to about 4 million barrels a day with no signs of financial strain. The question now is how much further down they can, or will, go to prevent any additional erosion of prices for world oil producers from Indonesia to Texas. If the Saudis can get the production of OPEC's 13 member countries down to the 16 million barrels a day they now promise, and then hold it there, they will certainly keep prices from falling further and might even raise them.

But Americans, and OPEC's other customers, are not without resources of their own. They have the weapon with which any customer can retaliate against overpricing. They can conserve further and buy less. If they do it effectively, OPEC's sales will drop again, and the cartel will have to hold another emergency meeting. The industrial countries are on the right track; their conservation is paying off.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

## Other Opinion

### America Studies the Choices

Most people, excluding the 12 percent or so of the population below the poverty level, are better off today than when the Reagan administration took office.

—The Albuquerque (New Mexico) Journal.

Reagan is not Roosevelt. In neither eloquence nor the stamp of historic greatness does he yet compare to FDR. But if he does not have the fullest measure of magnetic leadership, he has quite a lot of it. And the lamentable fact is that his opponent, Walter Mondale, has almost none of it. The vast majority of the American public recognizes, quite obviously, the Democratic candidate's pathetic lack of the power to inspire.

—The San Francisco Examiner.

By a small margin, but in our view a clear one, the scales tip against the president. Our hopes for Mr. Mondale are greater than those for Mr. Reagan. Our fears about Mr. Reagan are greater than those about Mr. Mondale.

—The Minneapolis Star and Tribune.

The principal hope for the Democratic nominees is for a sitting, so far undetected in the polls, at the grass roots — a rumbling recognition that the policies of the Reagan administration are laden with peril for the economy and the threat of a nuclear holocaust.

—The Arkansas Gazette (Little Rock).

Ronald Reagan has not taken government off the backs of the people but he has lightened the load through tax cuts. He can genuinely claim much of the credit for the current economic recovery. For many voters, it is enough that for the first time since John Kennedy an

American president has made people feel good about themselves and their country.

—The Clarion-Ledger (Jackson, Miss.).

The challenger is more thoughtful, decisive and knowledgeable about foreign and domestic affairs. And he is more experienced in the practical workings of government.

—The Akron (Ohio) Beacon Journal.

Gandhi on the Superpowers

We have a treaty of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union that has no military implication whatsoever. It does not represent an alternative to nonalignment. It does not exclude friendship with the great powers and with countries of the two blocs. One friendship must not be at the cost of another. We are, in fact, seeking friendship with the West. We want friendship with the United States, but unfortunately, sections of the security establishment of that country think that India is not relevant to the global U.S. strategy.

—Indira Gandhi, in an interview published Wednesday by Corriere della Sera (Milan).

... and a Neighbor on Gandhi

So long as she was alive, we were assured of her restraining influence. She respected our sovereignty and was too mature to lead any adventure across the Palk Strait. The uncertainties that rush upon the Indian scene now could have nerve-testing implications for Sri Lanka. We share India's sorrows and, in many ways, her loss.

—The Daily News (Colombo, Sri Lanka).

# The Threats to Indian Unity: Will the Nation Survive?

By Selig S. Harrison

WASHINGTON — Will India break up in the aftermath of the assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi?

Ironically, the dangers to the unity of the vast and diverse Indian subcontinent might have been greater if she had lived. Beneath the sense of horrified shock and grief now sweeping India, there are signs of a sad recognition that her strategy of personal political survival had increasingly led her to pursue policies damaging to India's long-term stability.

When Mrs. Gandhi took over from her father, Jawaharlal Nehru, she surprised many observers by proving to be a tough, cunning, commanding politician. For the first decade after his death she provided effective national leadership, relying on the inheritance of a strong Congress Party organization.

But she lacked Nehru's stature and charisma. She did not have his capacity to inspire deep emotional responses in India's masses and this did not have the tight grip over the political bosses on whom his power had rested. Above all, she lacked the sensitivity and skill as a conciliator that had enabled Nehru to balance the interests of India's contending religious and regional forces and to retain the loyalty of warring Congress chieftains.

Gradually, as she began to lose her grip, Mrs. Gandhi responded with reckless, vindictive political maneuvers against adversaries in her own party, as well as in the opposition, which led to steadily growing isolation from many of her erstwhile lieutenants. She might well have lost her parliamentary majority in the elections

scheduled for next January or, in any event, received a痛ously thin mandate.

More important, she departed from Nehru's cardinal principles in dealing with religious and regional minorities. In place of Nehru's painstaking care to avoid a collision with the Sikhs and to reassure Muslims of a fair deal in a Hindu-dominated society, Mrs. Gandhi increasingly identified herself with Hindu conservative elements in a blatant bid to win their political support.

In the case of the Sikhs, terrorist extremists forced her hand; she had no choice in the end but to send the army into the Golden Temple. But her hard line toward the power-sharing demands of relatively moderate Sikh leaders during the past three years led to a crisis that might well have been averted or moderated.

Nehru scrupulously avoided siding with the north Indian Hindi-language majority belt in its effort to dominate non-Hindi south India and West Bengal. By contrast, Mrs. Gandhi progressively fell back on overt appeals to her north Indian political base, feeding the flames of north-south tension.

To be sure, Rajiv Gandhi is inexperienced and starts out with even less stature than Mrs. Gandhi did when she was catapulted into the prime ministership in 1985. But it is precisely his lack of pretensions and his willingness to acknowledge his dependent role as a broker mediating between more powerful leaders that might enable him to play an effective stabilizing

role, at least during a transition period.

His first big decision will be whether to proceed with the parliamentary elections due by Jan. 5 under the constitution, or to postpone them by declaring national emergency rule. A decision to put off the elections would be a danger signal, revealing a lack of confidence on his part and inviting a political polarization between the government and the opposition.

Another grave threat facing India is that militant Hindu elements, blaming all Sikhs for the murder of Mrs. Gandhi by Sikh security guards, will continue to unleash mob violence. The prospect of growing army involvement in suppressing such violence could intensify serious tensions within Indian military ranks between Sikh and Hindu officers, as well as rank-and-file members of the armed forces.

India's greatest asset is its functioning parliamentary system, based on a popularly accepted constitution. The vitality of this system explains why India has retained remarkable political cohesion since 1947, in marked contrast to the sorry example of many other Third World states wracked by successive military coups.

As the muffled memories of the Congress-led struggle for independence recede, the Indian party system may continue to fragment, making it more difficult for Indian leaders to govern with a stable parliamentary majority. But India has acquired new underpinnings of economic unity as a result of dramatic strides in industrialization. With the ninth-largest indus-

trial economy in the world, the Indian subcontinent is increasingly knit together by a national market, as well as by national communications and transportation networks.

Many of the separatist pressures from aggrieved religious and regional interest groups are actually bargaining pressures within the system designed to get the biggest possible share of a growing national pie. This has been apparent during the deliberations of a national commission currently studying constitutional reforms in the relations between New Delhi and the states. Pressures are likely to build up for a new federal structure in which the central government makes major concessions to regional economic control over both taxation and the allocation of development expenditures.

The non-Hindi regions and the Sikhs in the Punjab are also seeking a new pattern of political coexistence. New Delhi would permit local exchange for a cooperative approach on their part toward coalition-building in the national Parliament. In resisting this type of power-sharing compromise and seeking to perpetuate single-party rule throughout the country, Mrs. Gandhi came into her angry collision with the Sikhs, precipitating the bloody showdown that culminated in her murder.

The writer, a former New Delhi bureau chief for The Washington Post, is with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. His books include "India: The Most Dangerous Decade."

## Reagan's Proud Image: It Isn't Quite Enough

By David S. Broder

WASHINGTON — There are good reasons to respect the views of the millions of Americans — a majority in all the polls — who are inclined to re-elect Ronald Reagan as president of the United States.

Think back to August 1981, when Mr. Reagan signed into law a series of measures carrying out the main pledges of his 1980 campaign — a bill reducing tax rates by 25 percent and permanently indexing them against inflation, and a budget measure drastically slowing the growth of the welfare state and shifting most of those savings in an expansion of the nation's military strength.

Those two measures were at the heart of Mr. Reagan's 1980 campaign. Whether one supported them or not, no one could miss the point that after four failed presidencies, America desperately needed his demonstration of leadership. That back to October 1983, when 241 marines were blown up in their Beirut barracks and U.S. forces went ashore in Grenada. Much is said — both admiringly and mockingly — about the speaking and acting ability of The Great Communicator. But during that week, Mr. Reagan put his talent to work to provide national leadership of a very high order.

The terrorist murder of the marines could easily have traumatized the country and, in combination with the Grenada military mission, polarized the public in a bitter, finger-pointing debate. But with his brilliant television speech and his masterful role-playing at the memorial ceremonies honoring the casualties, Mr. Reagan led Americans deal with their grief and shock, discharge their emotions, and discuss the policy questions without rancor.

In those two instances, among others, Mr. Reagan was fully presidential — in both the ceremonial and the substantive sense. In 1981, he was head of a government that knew its policy and moved both Congress and the courts to endorse it. In 1983, he was head of state, performing an important surrogate role for the nation.

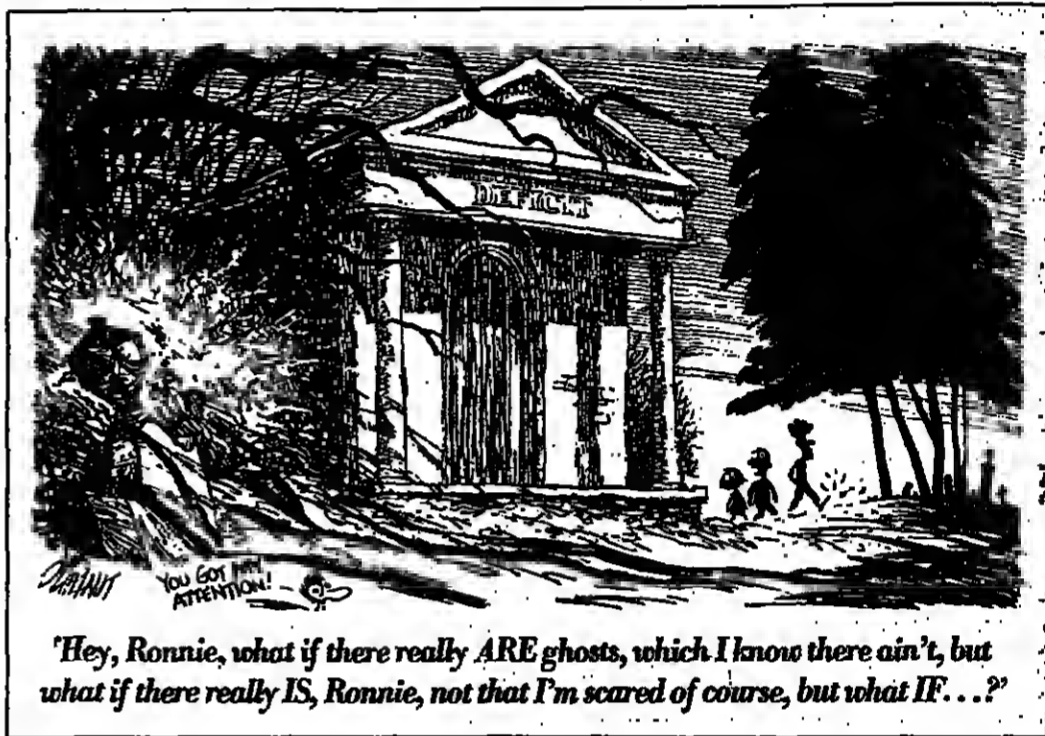
It is no wonder that people are reluctant to let go of that kind of president — especially since his time in office has seen a seeming cure of the disease of inflation, which had become the scourge of family budgets and the source of the national malaise of which his predecessor spoke.

In celebrating the lifting of that gloom and the rebirth of national optimism, Mr. Reagan's campaign has blunted the Democrats' efforts to shift the 1984 election onto any other grounds. Republicans have set up Nov. 6 as a national "Thank you, Mr. President" day.

But it must be more than that. It must also be a day of appraising the larger dimensions of presidential performance — now and for the next four years. And Mr. Reagan's performance, even in its high points, raises questions that this campaign has not bothered to answer.

If the willingness and ability to act decisively is one measure of leadership, for example, then another is surely the judgment to calculate the consequences of a policy choice. The tax-and-budget measures passed in 1981 have been followed serially by the longest and worst recession in 50 years and, now, one of the bleakest, sustained periods of noninflationary growth in the postwar period.

For partisan purposes, Republicans are claiming the recession was inevitable, whoever was in the White



House, and the recovery is immutable — but only so long as Mr. Reagan remains as president.

The reality is less comforting. The prosperity most Americans enjoy has been purchased in part by greater economic inequality and greater poverty for millions of our fellow-citizens. It has been procured, to a greater extent, by borrowing against the future earnings of the next generation, who will have to pay off the enormous, unprecedented debt that is fueling Americans' spending spree.

Both the deficits and the inequities were produced when Mr. Reagan's plan was passed. But he denied them and — what is more worrisome — denies them still, even after they have become a fact of life.

That degree of obtuseness is disturbing.

A second test of presidential lead-

ership is the ability to analyze alternative courses of action before a decision is made: so as to avoid unnecessary crises. In Lebanon, that was not done — and the marines paid the price. The administration was passive toward the Israeli invasion, heedless of the history of Lebanese factional fighting, and oblivious to the specific warnings the Pentagon gave of the danger of a minor military deployment in the midst of a deteriorating civil war.

The president simply did not raise the hard questions that needed to be asked, any more than he has raised them with those in his administration who effectively have undercut his stated goal of moving forward on arms control.

In contemplating the prospects for a second term, the operative question

must be whether Mr. Reagan's talent for leadership can be buttressed by improved judgment and clearer analysis. That seems doubtful.

At 73, Mr. Reagan is increasingly inclined to dismiss problems as imaginary. What deficit? What poverty? What Middle Eastern or Central American or Philippine instability? What tensions with the Russians?

Many of the best of his aides have exhausted themselves, knocking on the doors to his mind, seeking to draw his attention to the problems they clearly see. They understand the risk of a second-term drift into serious trouble.

But the voters, like the president, want to savor the moment. And in a moment, the four-year decision will be made.

—The Washington Post.

## U.S. Pressure, Sandinist Quarrels Make Nicaragua's Vote a Travesty

By George Black

NEW YORK — A fatal combination of U.S. intransigence and conflicts within the Sandinist leadership have turned the Nicaraguan elections, scheduled for Sunday, into a travesty of what they might have been. This was a unique opportunity for a Third World revolution to gain legitimacy in the eyes of the world. Instead, the Sandinists have seen their electoral experiment crumble.

The Reagan administration has studied the weaknesses of leftist regimes under pressure to great effect. Its cruel and costly war has brought Nicaragua close to economic ruin, infected the country with a siege mentality and blurred the lines between legitimate dissent and counterrevolution. Washington has set a cynical trap, and the Sandinists —

angry, paranoid and inexperienced — have fallen in.

The Sandinists are also victims of their own divisions. While some of their leaders have been pragmatic enough to recognize the wisdom of holding elections, others, less flexible, have undermined any chance that those elections could succeed.

Two clearly discernible tendencies have emerged within the nine-man national directorate. On one side are the "pragmatists." Head of state Daniel Ortega Saavedra is one — hardly surprising, for he is exposed to the realities of international diplomacy. The agriculture minister, Jaime Wheelock, who must work with the agrarian private sector, is another.

An opposing set of views holds that only military strength, internal security and mass mobilization around a "correct" propaganda line can guarantee the survival of the revolution. Among these ideologues are the interior minister, Tomás Borge Martínez, the party chief, Bayardo Arce Casiano, and the defense minister, Humberto Ortega Saavedra.

The diplomatic influence of Nicaragua's friends in the Socialist International and the Contadora countries — Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela — reinforced the pragmatists. The directorate agreed to hold multiparty elections and chose Daniel Ortega — not his radical challenger Tomás Borge — as the Sandinist

candidate. Ronald Reagan's charge that the Sandinists designed the election as a "Soviet-style sham" is malicious and inaccurate.

The directorate acknowledged a blunt reality: that those Latin American and other nations who paid Nicaragua's bills, and provided a diplomatic wall against the worst impulses of the Reagan administration, had a right to demand that Nicaragua respect, or at least approximate, Western democratic norms. Soviet unwillingness to underwrite the revolution was probably an important reason for the pragmatists' victory. Moscow has supplied arms readily enough, but its political backing has been lukewarm and its economic aid pin-

ful in relation to the great need. So what went wrong? Things began to go off track when talks about the conditions under which the leading opposition candidate, Arturo José Cruz, would participate, broke down over the issue of whether to postpone the balloting. Members of Mr. Cruz's coalition, the Democratic Coordinating Committee, acknowledged that they were under pressure from the Central Intelligence Agency to find a pretext for abstention: the Sandinist negotiator, Bayardo Arce, perhaps the most orthodox of the Sandinist leaders, pointed out just when an agreement appeared to be within reach. The irony is that the Sandinists surely have enough popular backing to win an election — by any rules and under any timetable — that their opponents could devise.

Can cool-headed pragmatism still prevail among the Sandinists? They have made an enormous expenditure of time and political capital for very little return. They are left with the narrowest of margins for maneuver and none for error.

The elections in their present form are in effect a referendum on the Sandinist program. Nicaraguan voters may be happy with this, but it is unlikely to keep the harsh outside world off their backs for very long. The Reagan administration will take the election of Daniel Ortega as one more reason to turn the screws on Nicaragua. And that in turn will vindicate the more dogmatic members of the directorate.

The writer is editor of Report on the Americas, bimonthly magazine of the North American Congress on Latin America, a research institution. He contributed this comment to The New York Times.

## LETTER

### On Salvadoran Peace

Regarding the editorial "Hope From La Palma" (Oct. 17):

The Washington Post gives the impression that the talks in La Palma, El Salvador, were largely due to President José Napoleón Duarte's efforts. He is even credited with "broaching the idea of talks in a way the guerrillas could not refuse."

In fact, the official position of the principal guerrilla groupings for the last three years has been that of starting a political dialogue with the government. It was always the government that refused.

RICHARD A. NAVARRO,  
Copenhagen.

## FROM OUR NOV. 3 PAGES, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

### 1909: China Uneasy Over Manchuria

NEW YORK — The Peking correspondent of the New York Herald telegraphs: "That the death of Prince Ito [on Oct. 26] has only temporarily interrupted negotiations between Japan and Russia having the most important bearing upon the situation in China, is the conviction of the Chinese officials here. The authorities see a complete verification of their suspicions in the announcement of the appointment of another high Japanese official to confer with M. Kokovtsov, the Russian Minister of Finance, at Vladivostok. China is deeply concerned about these negotiations, believing that any Russo-Japanese agreement [on the administration of Manchuria] must contemplate a continued and increased infringement of China's sovereignty."

### 1934: Dead Man Is Briefly Revived

MOSCOW — The first known instance of the revival of a human being actually dead was reported by a high Soviet medical authority [on Nov. 2]. The Central Institute of Blood Transfusion, which has conducted numerous experiments in reviving animals, recently restored life for two minutes in a man who had been dead three hours after committing suicide by hanging himself. Life was restored by the means of an "artificial heart," the invention of Professor Sergei Brinkhanenko. According to Professor C.I. Spasokulotsky, numerous attempts have been made to revive dead persons. After having the artificial heart pump his blood for some minutes, the man began breathing and showed other signs of life for nearly two minutes. Then he died again.

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مكتبة الناصر

## Flute Soloist Marcel Moyse Is Dead at 95 In Vermont

**Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches**  
**NEW YORK** — Marcel Moyse, 95, the doyen of flutists and an influential teacher, died Thursday in Brattleboro, Vermont.

Mr. Moyse was born in Saint-Amour, France, studied at the Paris Conservatory, and became principal flutist for several Paris orchestras and at the Opéra-Comique. In 1913, he toured the United States with Nellie Melba, the singer.

He was a soloist under the conductors Furtwängler, Toscanini, Prokofiev, and Richard Strauss, and played premieres of pieces by Ravel, Debussy, and Ibert, who wrote a flute concerto for him. He became professor of flute at the Paris Conservatory in 1932, and in 1934 the French government made him a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor.

Mr. Moyse was forced to flee Paris when the Germans invaded in 1940 because his name sounded Jewish.

He moved to Vermont in 1949. With Evelyn Serkin, the pianist, and several others, he founded the Marlboro School of Music and Festival in Brattleboro in 1952. He wrote 37 books of studies for flute.

Another master flutist, Jean-Pierre Rampaal, said in a 1979: "For my generation, he was king.... He was really the first to imagine that a flute player can be a great soloist."

Mr. Moyse often said he was inspired by opera singers to try to give the flute the resources of the human voice.

His grandson Michel, who re-



Marcel Moyse, modern master of the flute.

cently made a movie, "Marcel Moyse, Grand Old Man of the Flute," said Mr. Moyse's music had been influenced by his boyhood in the Jura mountains in France.

"Saint-Amour is the key," he said. "My grandfather goes back almost every summer. It is his roots. His music is influenced by the countryside."

A respiratory ailment curtailed

his playing and he spent much of the last 35 years teaching flute and woodwind classes in the United States, Europe and Japan.

He recorded prolifically in the 1930s but most of those records do not survive today. However, the "Brandenburg Concerto No. 5" he made in 1935-36 with Mr. Serkin and violinist Adolf Busch was reissued in 1982. (NYT, LAT, UPI)

## Algeria Slowly Discards Part of Revolutionary Past

### 30 Years Later, Leaders Feel Pressure to Respond to Material Needs of Young Population

By Paul Lewis  
New York Times Service

**ALGIERS** — Thirty years after the start of Algeria's battle for independence from France, the country still shows signs of the commitment to socialism that its new leaders made when they took control and proclaimed Algeria "a beacon of African revolution."

The capital has a dilapidated air. Food and most other goods are scarce, and fruit juice is unobtainable in a country that was once France's orange grove.

A population explosion keeps the streets crowded with young people gazing at half-empty shops. Economic development continues at a frenzied but inefficient pace. Security seems oppressive.

Yet beneath the surface, a process of change and relaxation is under way. And as the government prepared for the 30th anniversary of the start of its fight for freedom, marked on Thursday, Algerian leaders said the celebrations were intended to show the world that Algeria has achieved maturity as a nation.

"We are a constitutional democracy now," Mohammed Cherif Messadia, secretary of the ruling party's central committee, said. "The institutions are in place. We are no longer a revolutionary regime."

In the early hours of Nov. 1, 1954, armed members of an obscure Algerian nationalist organization called the Front de Libération Nationale, attacked French police posts and a lead mine in the Aurès Mountains of eastern Algeria. Six French citizens were killed. The French governor in Algiers dismissed the incidents as insubstantial. But the Algerian war of independence had begun.

Seven years and nearly a million lives later, De Gaulle finally abandoned the attempt to keep Algeria French by force of arms. More than 800,000 French settlers who once regarded Algeria as home were repatriated and Africa's second largest country, with its rich oil and gas fields, was handed over to the FLN's radical and embittered leaders.

To mark the anniversary and demonstrate its more self-confident stance, the government of Chadli Benjedid, an army colonel who became president after the death of President Houari Boumedienne in 1979, granted an amnesty to the many guerrillas who have fallen out with Algeria's leaders since independence.

Last week, the bodies of Belkacem Krim and Mohammed Khider, two of the FLN's founding members who were driven into exile and killed by Algerian agents in the 1970s, were brought back from Europe and reburied with military honors.

Ahmed Ben Bella, Algeria's first president, who was



Houari Boumedienne



Chadli Benjedid

overthrown by Colonel Boumedienne in 1965 and imprisoned until 1979, has been given a regular income and is welcome to return from self-exile in Europe, Mr. Messadia said. Also welcome, he said, is Hocine Ait-Ahmed, another revolutionary leader, who escaped to Switzerland after being sentenced to death.

"The generation that won independence is growing older," Mr. Messadia said. "It's time to forget past divisions." Yet, as in many aspects of Algerian life, political passions engendered by the fight with France seem to limit the speed of change. More than 400,000 Algerians descended from those who fought on the French side in the war remain in France unable to return, their Algerian property confiscated.

In other ways, too, the Chadli government is edging away from the austere revolutionary policies of its predecessors. Algerians no longer need exit visas to leave the country and the foreign exchange allowance for travelers has been increased.

Housing and farmland seized from the departing French are being sold cheaply to private owners. Efforts are under way to increase production of consumer goods, and private businessmen are being encouraged by the government.

Algeria's foreign policy also seems to be evolving in a more moderate direction. The country played a crucial role in obtaining the release of the hostages from the U.S. Embassy in Tehran in 1981, and the government has increasingly shared Western concern about the activities of Colonel

Mouammar Qadhafi, the Libyan leader, in the region. Algeria has also relaxed its hostility to what it has called the reactionary government of King Hassan II of Morocco.

This month, President François Mitterrand flew to Algeria to reassure Colonel Chadli about France's agreement with Libya to withdraw troops from Chad. The Algerians worry that this will leave Colonel Qadhafi free perhaps to stir up trouble in neighboring Tunisia. Algeria's new gas pipeline to Italy crosses Tunisian soil.

Officially, Algeria says that "the page has been turned" in its relations with France. But France has been embarrassed by the Algerian decision to celebrate the start of a war in which 40,000 French soldiers and civilians died.

Despite criticism from the right and from organizations of former settlers, Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson attended the celebrations. Alluding in a recent television interview to France's continuing strong commercial ties with Algeria, he said, "We did not choose the date, but can France afford to be absent?"

Officials often talk of the miseries of colonialism and attribute current difficulties to French neglect. "What do we have to unify us but the war and Islam?" Information Minister Bachir Rouis said.

On the other hand, the officials acknowledge that the driving force behind the government's more pragmatic approach recently is the need to satisfy the material aspirations of the young people born after independence, now 60 percent of the population, and who do not share the ideals of those who won it.

Algeria's principal source of wealth is its oil and gas reserves. The country has maximized its income from them as world prices fell, but has had less success investing those revenues to create an economy able to employ its growing population when the oil and gas run out.

The Soviet-style centralized economic planning and enormous investment in heavy industry favored by Algeria's early rulers are now recognized as mistakes.

The Chadli government has started making changes, cutting the 60 to 70 high national industries founded during the Ben Bella and Boumedienne years into 400 smaller ones. Wages in government factories are being linked to output to encourage production, and the government is giving more support to the private sector in industry and farming. Foreign investment in partnership with the government has been legalized and top priority in the new five-year development plan goes to agriculture and irrigation.

But the pace of change remains slow, hampered by the revolutionary ideology of the leaders and an unwieldy bureaucracy.

## Angola Offers to Send Cuban Troops Home

The Associated Press

**PRETORIA** — Angola has offered to send home Cuban troops as part of a regional accord to end South African rule over adjacent South-West Africa, also known as Namibia, and South Africa has said it welcomes the proposals.

The proposals, whose details were not released, were given to Foreign Minister R.F. Botha by Chester A. Crocker, U.S. assistant secretary of state for African affairs, in meetings Wednesday and Thursday in the Cape Verde Islands.

Mr. Crocker's deputy, Frank Wisner, met with Angolan officials in the Angolan capital of Luanda last week.

"South Africa welcomes the fact that the Angolan government has made proposals with regard to the withdrawal of Cuban forces," Mr. Botha said in a statement from Cape Verde released Thursday night by the Foreign Ministry.

"The South African government will soon present its views on this important matter."

South Africa, backed by the United States, has demanded the withdrawal of about 25,000 Cuban troops in Marxist-led Angola as a condition for independence for Namibia. Angola has said the issues were unrelated, but expressed willingness last month to negotiate a withdrawal in return for a similar South African pullout from South-West Africa.

After Thursday's meeting, Mr. Crocker said, "We consider the recent developments to be positive, and view the door to an overall regional settlement to be opened."

South Africa, ruled by its minority whites, and Angola agreed Feb. 16 that South African troops would pull out of southern Angola. In return, Angola was to make certain that black nationalist guerrillas fighting to end South African rule over South-West Africa would not move into the vacated areas.

Mr. Botha said Thursday that South Africa hoped to reach agreement with Angola by Nov. 15 on the final withdrawal of South African troops from southern Angola.

The South African pullback, scheduled to be completed within weeks of the February agreement, stalled 25 miles (40 kilometers) inside Angolan territory when South Africa said the guerrillas were violating the agreement.

South-West Africa, a former German colony between South Africa and Angola, has been under South African rule since World War I. Guerrillas of the South-West Africa People's Organization, or SWAPO, have fought from Angolan bases since 1966 for independence.

## 10 Go on Trial In Plot in Sudan To Kill Nimeiri

United Press International

**KHARTOUM, Sudan** — A Khartoum criminal court has begun the trial of 10 persons accused of planning to assassinate President Gaafar Nimeiri and blow up the U.S. and French embassies.

The suspects, led by a former army paratrooper, Mohammed Kafi Gibril, were arrested in July. The authorities said explosives, grenades and Soviet-made pistols had been found in their possession.

Security officials at the time said the defendants were members of the Sudanese People's Socialist Front, which is based in the Libyan capital of Tripoli and led by a dissident Sudanese, Abdallah Zakaria. Officials said they also planned to blow up the headquarters of Libyan dissidents in Khartoum.

On Thursday's opening session of the trial, the court heard the testimony of a police interrogator, who presented the charges against the defendants. The charges, which include waging war against the government, are punishable by death.

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# ARTS AND ANTIQUES

A SPECIAL REPORT

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## Washington Emerging As a Museum Mecca; Donors Are the Key

By Jo Ann Lewis

WASHINGTON — Washington has emerged as one of the greatest — and most agreeable — museum cities in the world.

"I've seen it happen," said the director of the National Gallery of Art, J. Carter Brown, 50. "I was a kid here in the '40s, when Washington was a sleepy Southern town filled with nothing but government bureaucrats. I have to keep reminding people that until 1941 even the National Gallery didn't exist."

Joe Hirshhorn, founder of the Hirshhorn Museum — which didn't exist until 1974 — once recalled the Washington of his youth: "It was a crummy little town."

No longer. In just over a decade, Washington has been transformed into an international museum mecca that in Mr. Brown's words "can hold its head up with any capital city in the world."

It is also fast becoming one of the most visited. Last year the various art, science and history museums that function under the umbrella of the Smithsonian Institution logged a record 25.8 million visits. The neighboring National Gallery — both the I.M. Pei wing and the newly renovated original building — clicked in 5 million more.

Partly supported by the U.S. government, most but not all of the Smithsonian museums are clustered along the Mall, a vast greensward that sweeps from the U.S. Capitol to the Washington and Lincoln Memorials, dotted with trees, plantings, Frisbee players and food kiosks. Within a few blocks, visitors can savor Chinese bronzes at the Freer, cubist sculpture at the Hirshhorn and paintings by Botticelli and Leonardo at the National — not to mention the Hope Diamond and one of the world's biggest stuffed elephants.

No ancient, royal collections these. They were formed from private gifts by wealthy collectors whose hopes for immortality were pinned on contributions of both epic and modest proportions. The donors' names on the museums themselves reflect the polyglot nature of the United States, from Smithsonian the English aristocrat to Hirshhorn the Latvian immigrant.

All have played a part in Washington's transformation. But the chief architect and generating force for change was the Smithsonian secretary S. Dillon Ripley, one of the most prolific builders and urban-character shapers since Baron Haussmann worked his will on 19th-century Paris.

During his 20-year tenure (he retired last month), Mr. Ripley brought to life, or brought under the Smithsonian aegis, almost a dozen museums in new buildings or in old ones salvaged and renovated for the purpose.

After the dual opening in 1968 of the National Portrait Gallery and the National Museum of American Art (formerly the National Collection of Fine Arts) in the historic Patent Office Building, he launched the Renwick Gallery (for the exhibition of design and crafts) in 1972. Then for a much-needed national museum of modern art he garnered some 11,000 works (and several million dollars) from Mr. Hirshhorn.

In 1976, for the U.S. Bicentennial, came the National Museum of Air & Space, which now averages nearly a million visitors a month —

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## U.S. Collectors: Moving to Control the World?

By Souren Melikian

NEW YORK — Is the United States about to take over the art market on a world scale? Dealers, museum curators and collectors in Europe are asking the question with some trepidation.

At the top, market professionals are in no doubt as to the buying power of the United States. In many categories, American collectors are those to whom the most expensive items are automatically offered first when they appear in the trade. They also tend to monopolize the best at auction. If the talk is about Impressionists and 20th-century masters, Americans play a leading role even though they do not enjoy the virtual monopoly here that they hold in some other categories.

Wendell Cherry of Louisville, Kentucky, acquired one of the greatest Degas seen at auctions in recent years, "Le Café Concert," sold as part of the Havemeyer Collection at Sotheby's in 1983 for \$3.4 million, while "L'Attente," another pastel by Degas, was bought jointly by Norton Simon and the J. Paul Getty Museum for \$3.74 million.

Where Old Masters are concerned, Norton Simon is probably the only living collector who can seriously claim to have formed a major collection within the last quarter of a century. While it is not comparable to the great public collections in Europe — such as the Uffizi in Florence, the Louvre in Paris, the National Gallery of London — the achievement is, nevertheless, remarkable. Mr. Simon cannot be blamed for not having acquired what is no longer available. He will never own anything like Simone Martini's "Annunciation," Albrecht Altdorfer's "Battle of Alexander," or the great Vermeers and Leonardos, all pinned down in museums. But he did the next best. He cornered the two or three indisputable masterpieces that strayed into the auction room and a few more negotiated in the trade.

When an extraordinary "Resurrection" on canvas by Dieric Bouts — which closely matches another scene, also on canvas (an unusual technique for the 15th century) in the National Gallery — came up at Sotheby's in 1980, he did not miss out. For \$1.87 million the Flemish gem became his. At that time, the National Gallery, whose own Bouts does not equal Simon's for sheer beauty, did not bat an eyelash, in contrast to the furor caused in recent months by American purchases of British-owned art.

Four years later, Mr. Simon made a comparable coup — or, to be accurate, he shared it with the Getty Museum because, the rumor went in professional circles, he did not quite have the cash. This concerned one of the most beautiful pictures ever done by the 17th-century French master Nicolas Poussin, which was sent for sale to Christie's by the Duke of Devonshire. The Poussin, which was at Chatsworth House for more than two centuries, is one of the very few that has retained its sfumato effects — the delicate surface yellowing devised by the Old Masters to tone down certain colors.



American acquisition: "The Resurrection" by Dieric Bouts was purchased by the Norton Simon Museum in 1980.

At the time, the Poussin caused so little excitement in Europe that it was bought in at a trifle less than its reserve price. It had to be negotiated at the end of the sale for only \$1.6 million.

Regarding Old Master drawings, the role played by Americans was dramatically highlighted last July at a

sale of drawings coming once again from Chatsworth, held at Christie's in London. The seven top lots were knocked down to the Getty Museum, while the dean of American collectors, Ian Woodner, bought for \$3.2 million a sheet from the Vasari Album.

While American interest in Old Master drawings

goes back to the turn of the century, it has asserted itself with unprecedented vigor in the last six years. It first became apparent at the Von Hirsch sale in 1978. It intensified at the Hatvany auction at Christie's two years later, when a magnificent Rembrandt pen and sepia wash study for "Joseph Recounting His Dream" went to Mr. Woodner, who was bidding against a New York dealer.

Other American purchases that were known only to professionals got less publicity. These included three Andrea Mantegna drawings, acquired by Agnew's of London on behalf of an American collector, with Mr. Woodner as the underbidder.

A new generation of collectors has sprung up. John R. Gaines, from Lexington, Kentucky — started collecting Old Master drawings about 12 years ago. At the Chatsworth sale, he bought a study by Frederico Barocci for \$172,800, a superb view of a harbor by Jacques Callot for \$118,800, a Rembrandt landscape in sepia and brown ink for \$518,400, a remarkable virgin and child in red chalk by Parmigianino for \$167,155, and a Van Dyck study of saints for \$172,800.

The American predominance is even stronger, if barely publicized, in more rarefied areas. In the last decade, the most powerful buyer of Indian sculpture was probably the late John D. Rockefeller 3d, who left his collection to Asia House in New York. The importance of American collecting attracted to the United States dealers such as Herbert Kahane — now back in his native Zurich — or Navin Kumar, who left his native Delhi to open a gallery in New York. While the Rockefeller of this world go after large-size pieces bought at huge prices, the United States can also boast collectors whose sophisticated knowledge is matched by equally sophisticated methods when buying. The names of Jack Zimmerman, who is strong on Himalayan art, and William Wolfe, who specializes in Southeast Asia, both from New York, of Tom Pritzker and James Aisford from Chicago, who go in for sculpture, of John Ford of Baltimore, who is "very spread out" as his fellow connoisseurs put it, are familiar to the inner circle of high-powered collectors and dealers even if they never appear in print.

Samuel Eilenberg, a university professor of mathematics, is probably one of the three or four greatest connoisseurs of early Indian and South Asian bronzes from Kashmir to Cambodia. He is also described in the trade as one of the shrewdest and toughest of buyers. Through the Eilenbergs of the collecting world, the U.S. impact on the art market has taken a new dimension. It does not just affect the \$200,000-plus category. It now makes a dent in areas where knowledge and flair, as much as money, are essential weapons.

Perhaps the most striking illustration of the new power of American collecting in the field is provided by two current exhibitions. Sieve Kossack's collection is now displayed at the Metropolitan Museum under the title "The Lotus and the Flame," through March 3,

(Continued on Page 9)

BORN TO COMMAND.



An 1832 caricature of President Andrew Jackson, left, artist unknown. At right, an apparent attack on President



Thomas Jefferson's association with Thomas Paine, circa 1801; the column clearly indicates the Federalist Party.

## Memorabilia From American Campaigns: Tippecanoe, Lincoln and Jackson, Too

By Rita Reif

NEW YORK — How much longer will political campaign memorabilia be collected? It's a question raised every four years during presidential campaigns — and one that so far has not been answered. The problem is that the popularity of the period material increases with every presidential election, but the production of campaign mementos for today's candidates is on the wane. Eventually, some observers believe, this may cause a decline in popularity of such collectibles.

Yet, collectors insist that there is no sign of diminishing enthusiasm. This year, as in the past, the pomp and parading that attend the electioneering process has focused attention on campaign items, spurring collectors to haunt flea markets and antique shows in search of rare "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" wares. Museums and galleries have mounted exhibitions documenting the history of such material and the great variety produced in almost 200 years.

One of the finest of such shows, "Packaging Presidents: Memorabilia From Campaign Past," is at the Hudson River Museum in Yonkers through Nov. 11. On view are more than 600 banners, buttons, posters and other campaign ephemera from the 19th and 20th centuries, selected by Frederick C. Voss, a

historian of the Smithsonian Institution's National Portrait Gallery in Washington.

Mr. Voss and Rick Beard, the museum's associate director, point out in the show's 70-page catalog (\$18.95), that one should not read too much into the messages delivered in campaign material. As Mr. Beard puts it in his foreword: "It is too much to argue, as some have, that the history of the presidency can be ascertained by resorting to a careful examination of the memorabilia." He suggests, however, that mementos from campaign past reveal certain recurring themes. And they do. Among the most obvious seen in this show are the popularity in campaigns of military heroes and of the humble, log-cabin origins of candidates, as well as the controversial nature of the issues of slavery and the gold standard.

On view are major and lesser works from the collector Merrill C. Berman, a New York investor who is a partner in Berman, Kalmbach & Co. His holdings are described by the museum as "the finest private collection of presidential campaign art in the country." Mr. Voss, who also wrote the catalog, concurs. He relates how the earliest mementos, which were tokens, were circulated by John Adams's supporters when he ran against Thomas Jefferson in 1796 and 1800.

He goes on to document the proliferation of campaign materials in print from the 1830s on.

He describes in detail the bitter contest waged by John Quincy Adams against Andrew Jackson, in which anti-Jackson forces issued a broadside showing Jackson as "King Andrew the First," cloaked in ermine and wearing a crown.

"I cut my teeth on campaign art," Mr. Berman said. He recalled that he began collecting campaign material in 1948, when he was 10. He shoveled snow in his Boston neighborhood and when he had \$15 or \$20, he said, he took the streetcar downtown to buy tokens and buttons from coin dealers.

He joined the American Political Item Collectors' Society in 1952 and was introduced to the harter system popular at the time among buffs of such collectibles. "A large button was 10 cents, or maybe as much as 25. There was one item for which I paid \$6.50, and one for which I paid the spectacular price of \$15." He continued his pursuit of such items until he went to Harvard in the late 1950s.

By the time he returned to collecting campaign material 12 years later, in the early 1970s, everything about the field had changed dramatically. When he joined the collecting society, he was its 96th member, and now its membership numbers thousands, he said. The material had soared in price, to 10 or a hundred times previous values. Celluloid buttons now

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"Portrait de Paul Bérard" by Auguste Renoir. Signed and dated 80. 81 x 65 cm. Figured in numerous exhibitions.

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## A SPECIAL REPORT ON ARTS AND ANTIQUES



Old Master drawings from the collection of Ian Woodner, from left: Raphael's head of a horse, dancing angels by Fra Bartolommeo, and detail from the satyr by Cellini.



## One Collector's Acumen: A Measure of the Growing American Expertise in Art

NEW YORK — Buying Old Master drawings is one of the more sophisticated forms of collecting. It is possible, albeit not advisable, to go after 19th-century painting without being very closely acquainted with art. Catalogues raisonnés are available for many artists, recording every

known work with the year and place of execution. With a little flair, one can form a rough idea of what is "important."

The exercise is more difficult but not hopeless with Old Master paintings: Stay clear of unsigned works, consider published pictures only and make sure that these are graced with the general consensus of present-day art historians. But it is unthinkable for Old Master drawings. Hardly any are signed. Catalogues raisonnés are few and far between. Collecting in this field requires the ability to form a judgment as to authenticity and, no less important, to assess the quality of draftsmanship.

The growing role that Americans have been playing in this area during the last quarter of a century is the most telling indicator of the level of sophistication attained by U.S. collectors.

Ian Woodner's achievement is probably the most impressive. An architect and real estate developer, Mr. Woodner, 79, is also a painter whose work has been exhibited in Paris and London. He has done some extraordinary landscapes on the fringes of abstraction.

His craft gives him an understanding of drawings that few collectors enjoy. It goes far beyond assessing authenticity. Only a performing musician will fully perceive the logic of a score and only a practicing draftsman can feel at his fingertips the purpose of linear structure.

There are three distinct periods in Mr. Woodner's life as a collector: one as a buyer with modest means who occasionally laid hands on avant-garde drawings when no one else would consider them, another when he could afford to spend a few thousand dollars on a drawing, and the third when he became rich enough to go after masters such as Rembrandt.

The first drawing he bought was a Miro gouache, from Ted Schamp, a friend and a dealer for Nicolas de Staël. Mr. Woodner still remembers the price, although he bought the work in 1937: The Miro cost him \$85. He later sold it.

His first Old Master drawing came to him considerably later. In 1953 he attended a sale at The Savoy, a now defunct New York auction house, where he bought a view of Padua by Tiepolo, in pen and brown ink with gray wash, for the then substantial price of \$800. What he considers his first truly important acquisition was made years later. Until March 7, 1960, he had never spent more than \$1,000 on a drawing. Then, however, he raised the stake to \$20,000, the price that the New York dealer William Schab wanted for the bust of a young man, recently published in the catalogue raisonné of Mr. Woodner's collection as "attributed to Hans Holbein, the Younger."

Konrad Oberhuber of the Fogg Art Museum accepted the attribution, as did Paul Ganz in 1939, while James Byam Shaw, the great English expert, and Arthur Ewart Popham consider another version to be the original. In his latest assessment, Mr. Oberhuber cautiously warns that both could be copies of a lost version. Until the two drawings are put side by side "along with securely attributed portrait drawings by Holbein," as Mr. Oberhuber put it, no final resolution of the problem is possible. Several connoisseurs have yet to be convinced, but Mr. Woodner firmly believes that this is the original Holbein drawing. It is certainly a striking portrait.

This purchase was the first act of courage that led to his next important acquisition, again from Mr. Schab, in 1964. That year Mr. Woodner bought the figure of a satyr by the Renaissance sculptor and goldsmith Benvenuto Cellini. It is an extraordinary story as Mr. Woodner tells it.

The Cellini surfaced as an anonymous drawing in a London sale, where it was bought by the man Mr. Woodner calls the finest dealer in drawings in his generation, Hans Calmann. The London dealer kept it for almost two years, showing it to anybody whose opinion he thought worth considering. No one had a clue. One day, it occurred to him to ask a visiting Italian colleague to translate the four-line Italian inscription. Out came the words *Fontana Belio* — old Italian for the French royal city Fontainebleau. That clicked in Calmann's mind. Of the four Italian masters called in by the King of France to Fontainebleau, only Cellini was a sculptor. The inscription indicates, in the first-person singular, how the bronze figure for which the satyr is a study has been modified. It tallies with data in Cellini's diary. Therefore, the drawing has to be by Cellini. Mr. Calmann decided, a reasoning that has gained wide acceptance.

Mr. Schab wanted \$18,000. Mr. Woodner, who did not have it, offered to give \$5,000 in cash and the balance over the year. Mr. Schab agreed. So it was that the only large recognized Cellini outside the Louvre landed in Mr. Woodner's lap. "Why did you offer it to me and not to the Metropolitan Museum first?" Mr. Woodner inquired when the deal was concluded. Mr. Schab said: "I did. They had it for two days and they all liked it. They came back to me saying, 'We will buy it from you. We would like a better price.' That, I couldn't agree to."

The acquisition of the Cellini, arguably the rarest piece in Mr. Woodner's collection, triggered a flutter of activity. He started buying at major auctions. In the 1978 Von Hirsch sale, Mr. Schab, acting as his agent, paid £72,475 for a portrait of a young boy, a metalpoint with white gouache of the Umbrian school, done in about 1490. Precise, subtle, it has been the object of much debate as to authorship — Sotheby's had it down as Pintoricchio — which matters little — it is a forceful portrait by a great master.

In the same auction, Mr. Woodner also paid £40,140 for a study in pen and brown ink by the Florentine painter Fra Bartolommeo (c. 1474-1517), which has the sharp, clearly defined, swirling lines that recur in so many of Mr. Woodner's favorite huys.

On July 6, 1982, at Christie's in London, Mr. Woodner revealed to the full the bold independence of judgment typical of an artist who considers the achievement first. He acquired the head of a horse ascribed at the time to Raphael by one art historian and now widely recognized as such. He also went after the bust of a young boy in pen and greenish brown ink, somewhat faded. Its authenticity was questioned by some. The mid-15th-century drawing has now been accepted by all the scholars who have examined it, to say nothing of Christie's remarkable expert Noel Annetley.

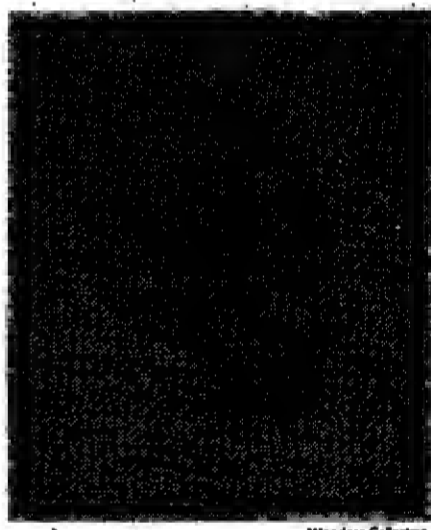
Last July, Mr. Woodner went all out: He bid at Christie's Chatsworth sale for a sheet from the famous Vasari Album for £3.2 million, the second-highest price ever paid at auction for a drawing, after the £3.5-million Raphael head that was also bought at the Chatsworth sale.

Giorgio Vasari, Michelangelo's friend and biographer, was an architect and artist. He was also the first collector of Old Master drawings in the modern sense. He mounted them on large sheets, as he did the two draped figures attributed to Filippino Lippi on the sheet that Mr. Woodner bought, and occasionally arranged them in an architectural composition of his own, such as the trompe l'oeil niches drawn on the verso. Few intact sheets from his *Libro de Disegni*, or Book of Drawings, have survived.

Outbidding even the J. Paul Getty Museum, Mr. Woodner won a trophy that looks like a Renaissance mirror reflection of his three pursuits — architecture, painting, and the collecting of Old Masters. The sheet is awaiting an export license in England. It would somehow seem unfair if an artist passionately in love with the great masters that he studied for a lifetime should be thwarted in his chase. True, Mr. Woodner would be



The collector, Ian Woodner, above. At right, in actual size, caricature of an old woman by Leonardo.



able to find grim comfort in the tiny £118,000 caricature by Leonardo that he also bought at the Chatsworth sale — an old woman grinning at the folly of the world, with the flower of youth and hope stuck in her corsage.

The great master drawings are perhaps not the best in Mr. Woodner's collection. Some were and remain gambles. But among the lesser known masters — from 16th- and 17th-century Italy in particular — his selection is dazzling. The traveling exhibition of his drawings organized by the Getty Museum, the Kimbell Museum in Fort Worth, Texas, and the National Gallery of Art in Washington early this year leaves no doubt about it.

Underlying these diverse acquisitions is a deep feeling for the human face, matched by a sense of balance through movement and tension and, often, a sculptural quality that reminds one of the architect's instinct for the monumental.

Not surprisingly, Mr. Woodner — who is first and foremost a lover of beauty, not a moonmaniac — also buys sculptures. His collection of Cycladic marbles is one of the most important in private hands. It will provide a major contribution to an exhibition next year in the United States. It underlines Mr. Woodner's fundamental aesthetic concern, the search for outline, structure and tension. The marbles are like drawings in stone.

—SOURIN MELIKIAN

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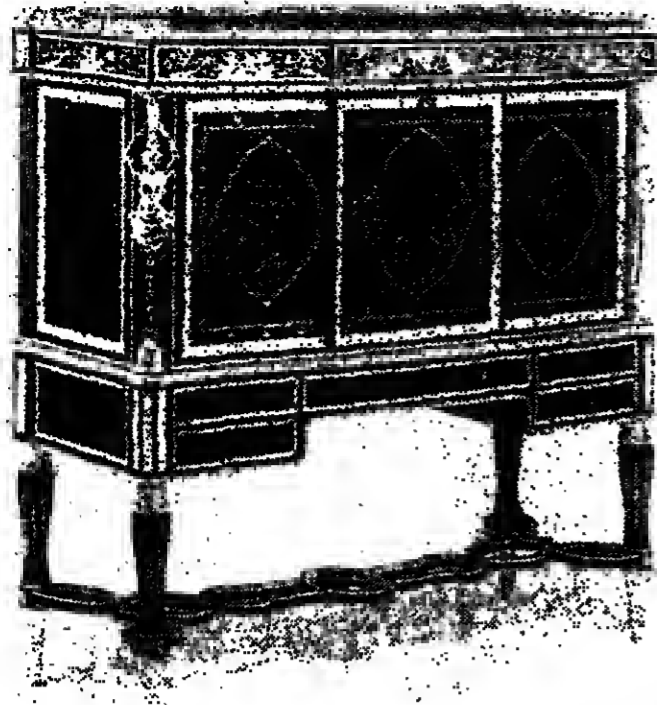
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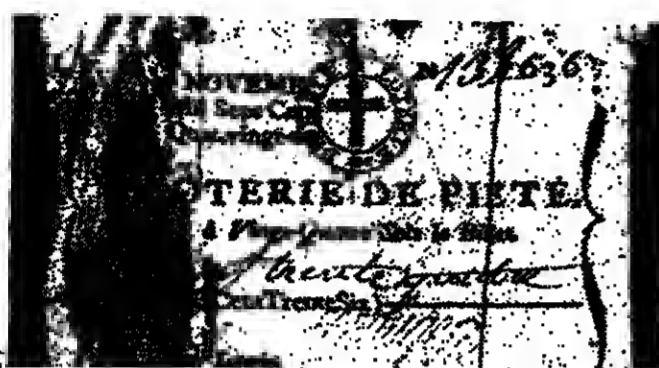
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Louis XVI secretaire, above, and authentication, below.



## A String of Record Prices for the Old Masters of Furniture

LONDON — Over the last 18 months, a string of phenomenal prices paid for French furniture has led some to speculate that the very finest of Louis XV commodes and Louis XVI secretaires might eventually catch up with Old Masters.

In July 1983, an extraordinary secretaire à abattant, or cabinet on stand, with drop-leaf front appeared at Sotheby's in London. The proportions of the cabinet, which was broader than most models of the Louis XVI period and yet remarkably light in appearance, the handling of the Chinese lacquer panels and the way in which ornate fittings were used to set off the black lacquer suggested the manner of the great cabinetmaker Adam Weisweiler whom the king and Marie Antoinette commissioned to do work for Versailles.

Not a trace of a cabinetmaker's mark could be detected. Luckily, Sotheby's cataloger found a document preserved in the French National Archives stating that on January 11, 1780, "a black cabinet the description of which exactly fits the present cabinet" had been delivered to Versailles at the cost of 7,200 livres (the French currency). The catalog noted certain differences — "the Spanish brocade marble top has since disappeared."

Some green velvet on the inner face of the cabinet drop leaf has given way to leather. However, Sotheby's expert considered the other elements of description sufficiently precise to be conclusive. Two later references, including one in an inventory in 1787, led him to infer that this was the cabinet that once stood in the king's "cabinet intérieur," or private study. Finally, Sotheby's informed its readers that beneath one of the lacquer side panels sheets of lottery tickets dated 1781 were found. This was a tactful way of emphasizing that the authenticity of the piece was beyond dispute. The demonstration of the authorship and original destination, while entirely based on circumstantial evidence, was brilliant. If one or two leading dealers, inclined by experience to take scholarly essays with a pinch of salt, may have felt any doubts about the cogency of the arguments — the ornate mounts did not elicit unrestricted enthusiasm — they did not voice them.

Rich collectors or their advisers were convinced, starting with Barbara P. Johnson, when it was bid up to £1,035 million, establishing the world record for any piece of furniture. The Versailles curators, it is said, also wanted it.

Five months later, another extraordinary price was paid in London, this time at Christie's. The object was a bureau plat, or writing desk, with Sevres porcelain plaque insets on all drawers, a device favored by Martin Carlin, whose mark was stamped on the desk. The bureau plat had a wonderful pedigree. It had originally been acquired by the Grand Duke Paul, later Paul I of Russia, and his spouse, Maria Feodorovna, during a

trip to Paris in 1786. Until the Russian revolution of 1917, the desk graced the imperial bedroom in the Imperial residence at Pavlovsk, just outside Leningrad. The famous dealer Duven bought it from the Soviets at the time when they were selling a variety of art treasures and eventually resold it to Anna Thompson Dodge of Detroit.

When her entire collection of 18th-century furniture was sold at Christie's in 1971, following her death at the age of 101, the bureau plat made £173,255. It thus became the most expensive piece of furniture ever. Last December it surfaced at Christie's once again and soared to \$918,000.

In Paris, at least one piece confirmed at about the same time that huge prices can be paid even for pieces that fall outside the recognized styles. This is an ebony bureau plat with heavy ornate garlands hanging below the skirt. The massive but powerful piece is neoclassical and yet unlike any known Louis XVI piece of furniture of which it lacks, among other things, the dainty appearance. It is unmarked, but the key to the mystery is given by a portrait of the Duc de Choiseul done by Van Loo in 1763. A corner of that desk, or of a perfect match to it, appears in the painting. We thus know that the first neoclassical furniture was designed in France long before the ascent to the throne of King Louis XVI, with which it is usually associated.

The bureau plat first surfaced at the Paris Biennale des Antiquaires — Antique Dealers' Bazaar — in 1978. Maurice Segura, a leading dealer in 18th-century furniture and decorative art, sold it shortly after to a Lebanese collector, Anthony Tannouri, who was just beginning to buy 18th-century furniture. The price, Segura told me, was "in the region of 2.6 million francs (\$400,000 at that time)." In November 1983, the Tannouri collection was sold by order of a Paris court. This means that no reserve can be placed on the items by the vendor, and this tends to keep prices down. The auction conducted by Jacques Tajan at the Hotel George V was a clumsy affair. It started late, in sweltering heat. To make things worse, the auctioneer reversed the order of the catalog — spending a tedious 40 minutes selling some old rugs. As the porters presented them to millionaires sitting in the front row, they sent clouds of dust in their faces making the performance look like some old-fashioned Gallie farce. This could have killed the sale and, I suspect, it harmed it to some extent. Nevertheless, the bureau plat went up to 7.1 million francs, paid by the J. Paul Getty Museum.

More recently, there have been indications that more banal furniture of the 18th century can be made to soar sky-high over a very short period. A pair of Louis XVI crescent-shaped consoles in rather bad condition were bought by dealers at Drouot in the fall of 1983 for just over 400,000 francs. Duly restored and reglazed, they turned up at Sotheby's in New York last May where they fetched \$473,000. Professional sources say that two different private buyers had been advised to go after the items, which resulted in a head-on collision and the ensuing phenomenal price. The same vendors, according to the source, repeated their feat with a Louis XVI chair and resold it for a staggering \$125,000. Even if circumstances were perhaps peculiar, the fact remains that no one forced the buyers to bid.

There is a growing fascination with 18th-century furniture after a long period of neglect. Part of the reason lies in the awareness that furniture is one of the areas where truly major works of the past are still available. Unexpected discoveries are more likely than in most other fields. It is the most elaborate and refined furniture that has been going up because it is sought by people who buy it as collector's items rather than as decorative pieces — even if the collectors fit their pieces into a setting. The Versailles secretaire described as having been commissioned for the king's study and the bureau plat are typical examples of the pieces that can be expected to fetch huge prices and soar further still in the short term. They are surrounded by an aura of history, indisputable in the second and brilliantly argued in the former. Such an aura gives each one of them a unique quality that goes beyond aesthetics.

It has the added advantage of sweeping aside authentication problems. Certainly that a piece has ever left a historical abode until this century, or can at least be traced beyond reasonable doubt to a distant point in time, is a key factor to the value of French furniture. This explains the prices paid in recent years for furniture from English aristocratic mansions, most of which was acquired during or shortly after the French revolution. A verifiable provenance of that kind provides a soothing guarantee that the piece is not open to discussion.

There is perhaps one other field where the need for such guarantees is as strongly felt. French 18th-century has been copied almost the moment it ceased to be made. Copying was already thriving under Louis Philippe (1830-48), when some 18th-century cabinetmakers were still alive. It reached the peak of perfection in the early years of the Second Empire (1852-70), when only tool marks on the underside of a veneer or technical details such as dovetailing will sometimes give away a copy.

Cabinetmakers' marks can hardly serve as criterion. Marking stamps have been handed down from one generation to another. When this reporter was first introduced to the fine art of cabinetmaking in Paris, a quarter of a century ago by the late André Félon, who did restoration work for the Louvre and Versailles, there were two marking stamps lying about the workshop. Stamping such marks in a convincing manner is a child's play for a trained craftsman. Disputes over the authenticity of a

## The Ups and Downs of 19th-Century Art

NEW YORK — On Oct. 19, a picture titled "Printemps" (Spring) by William-Adolphe Bouguereau sold at Sotheby's for \$75,000. A woman wearing a drapery that allows a generous bosom to appear walks barefoot in a barren landscape. She leans at a winged child whom she carries on her back. His hand raised, she is about to strike her gently with a twig.

The pretentious scene with its blend of mythological allusion — Eros striking at Aphrodite — and naturalistic handling of detail epitomizes the kitsch art of Bouguereau, much admired by the French upper class at the time when Impressionism was seen by most as a sort of crazy artistic extremism.

The same auction included a landscape by Georges Michel, a French painter with a sense of light and shadow inherited from the 17th-century Dutch school and a romantic feel for melancholic windswept plains. It remained unsold at \$4,250, as Howard Rutkowski, Sotheby's expert, had feared might be the case. A bidder willing to go up to about \$6,000 would probably have met the reserve set by the vendor and acquired the beautiful view, which would still have been cheap.

The contrast between the price of the Bouguereau and that of the Michel came as no surprise to professionals. Arbitrary classification characterizes the market for 19th-century painting. The infinite aesthetic diversity of the period has yet to be fully explored and assessed. Superb paintings can still be picked up at very low prices. And no place is better for this than New York, however weak other currencies may seem against the dollar.

One reason is that fashion plays a greater role in U.S. buying patterns than in Europe, leaving in the cold anything that falls outside its mainstream. Picture-postcard art, more courtously referred to as "academic," has been the rage for several years. Bouguereau, with his pageant of sweetish, carefully done half-naked women, and his Hollywoodian palette, has been heading the list. Although prices have not returned to the level they reached before the 1981-1982 recession, they are still high.

But the French Romantic school of landscape painting is out much in favor in the United States. The Barbizon painters do not sell very well and their followers in the thirties and forties of the 19th century are virtually unknown to the American public. No one has heard of Georges Michel outside museum circles. His romanticism is too austere to be attractive to the uninitiated public, and his color scheme too dark — it consists in the main of blackish-greens, browns and mustard yellows. Moreover, Michel left many works unsigned, and signatures are a key to success in the United States. Michel's work invariably sells badly or

not at all. The fact that the landscape offered Oct. 19 at Sotheby's had been on loan to the Portland Art Museum in Portland, Oregon, which would normally be seen as a glamorizing factor, made no difference. Not a single bid came from the room.

Another reason New York is a good place to buy paintings such as Michel's and those of related landscape painters of the mid-19th century is the context in which these works get offered at auctions. Sotheby's and Christie's have adopted a bizarrely negative definition of 19th-century European paintings. Under this label they lump anything that does not come under the heading Impressionism or the later avant-garde movements of the 19th century. As a result, their sales are characterized by bewildering diversity.

The Oct. 19 auction began with a conventional still life done by a third-rate Austrian artist, Johann Knapp, in 1825; it sold for \$13,200. The sale went on to a rather absurd interior scene by Jean-Baptiste Mallet — a young woman in the nude sits on the lap of her maid, sipping tea, in a drawing room decorated in the style of the late 1790s. It was bought in (failed to reach the minimum price set by the vendor and thus remained unsold) at \$5,250. The auction included almost anything from a vast array of paintings by French and British academic artists to isolated works by Bonington, Delacroix and Turner.

In London, where sales are attended by large numbers of dealers and private connoisseurs, good things rarely go unnoticed, even if they seem to be lost in an irrelevant context. New York is different. While these sales are also followed by European dealers — some make their living from buying and selling at U.S. auctions — the latter do not keep as close a watch as in Europe, essentially because of distance. Hence the fate of Georges Michel's landscape.

There were a few other failures Oct. 19. The most striking concerned a beach scene with fishing boats by Bonington. The attractive sketch, in oils, was unsigned; the British landscape artist often did not bother to leave his name. However, it has been accepted by Marion Spender, the British expert who spent a lifetime studying his work. She will include it in her catalogue raisonné of Bonington's paintings. The composition is beautiful. At left, white and blueish cliffs lighted by a ray of sun are half hidden by fishing boats at anchor, while at right the strand, painted in touches of brown, red, dull blue and brownish yellow, tapers into the distance under a broad sky. Mr. Rutkowski said the sails of the boat were criticized by the

connoisseurs as being too thinly painted. That was not this writer's impression. As the hammer went down at \$17,500, the landscape remained unsold.

A sketch by Delacroix narrowly missed being bought in too. "The Chaldean Shepherds," a study done in bold, nervous strokes, was hardly overpaid at \$17,600.

Bonington and Delacroix seemed strangely out of place in an auction where the emphasis was overwhelmingly on academic art. Indeed, the triumph of the day was a river scene by James Jacques Joseph Tissot done in about 1870-1871. Two women and a man appear on the bank of the Thames against a background of dark, brownish water and a hill covered with rusty, leafy trees. The painter has given great attention to detail, particularly costume, a major attraction to buyers of such paintings. Hence the \$220,000 it made. The price is enormous — "a good price," Mr. Rutkowski commented with satisfaction even though his presale estimate had been higher still. \$275,000 to \$385,000. The latter point reflects the recent tendency at Sotheby's to give estimates based more on the highest conceivable price than on the probable figure.

This can be harmful in a market that is very active but not overly as reckless as it was in 1980-1981. While the total sold Oct. 19 exceeded \$4 million, 23 percent of the total was bought in. Despite heavy bidding from British, German and Japanese dealers. The latter appeared to have diversified their interest. As usual, they displayed unrestricted enthusiasm about Jean-François Millet, whom they consider one of the greatest French masters. His charcoal sketch of a couple of peasants walking to the fields was bought by the Japanese trade for \$82,500. Japanese dealers also paid \$38,500 for a Turner study in sepia wash for a landscape, "Conway Castle," that few Western dealers would seriously consider in view of its condition — it is faded and light-stained. The famous name and romantic hilly setting must have enflamed their imagination.

More unexpected was the Japanese dealers' display of interest in very minor paintings of the Barbizon school, such as a landscape by Léon Richer, which they bought for \$6,050.

The recent return of the Japanese after a prolonged absence during the recession is an important phenomenon. But it does not affect paintings such as those of Georges Michel, who is unknown to them and whose works do not have the realistic quality in landscape painting that they go in for. To those who are highly knowledgeable, New York is likely to remain the ideal hunting ground for the more rarefied paintings of the 19th century at bargain prices. — SOUREN MELIKIAN

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IBM	124.50	124.00	124.00	-0.50	-0.4%
AT&T	101.00	100.50	100.50	-0.50	-0.5%
GE	41.00	40.50	40.50	-0.50	-1.2%
AMC	14.00	13.50	13.50	-0.50	-3.6%
AMT	12.00	11.50	11.50	-0.50	-4.2%
AMR	11.00	10.50	10.50	-0.50	-4.5%
AMN	10.00	9.50	9.50	-0.50	-5.0%
AMT	9.00	8.50	8.50	-0.50	-5.6%
AMT	8.00	7.50	7.50	-0.50	-6.3%
AMT	7.00	6.50	6.50	-0.50	-7.1%

Dow Jones Averages					
Index	Open	High	Low	Last	Chg.
Indus. Ave.	1,214.33	1,218.00	1,212.00	1,212.00	-4.33
Comp. & Bus.	1,154.33	1,158.00	1,148.00	1,148.00	-6.33
Transp.	1,154.33	1,158.00	1,148.00	1,148.00	-6.33
Finance	1,154.33	1,158.00	1,148.00	1,148.00	-6.33
NYSE	1,154.33	1,158.00	1,148.00	1,148.00	-6.33

NYSE Index					
Index	Open	High	Low	Last	Chg.
NYSE	1,154.33	1,158.00	1,148.00	1,148.00	-6.33
NYSE	1,154.33	1,158.00	1,148.00	1,148.00	-6.33
NYSE	1,154.33	1,158.00	1,148.00	1,148.00	-6.33
NYSE	1,154.33	1,158.00	1,148.00	1,148.00	-6.33

NYSE Closing					
Index	Open	High	Low	Last	Chg.
NYSE	1,154.33	1,158.00	1,148.00	1,148.00	-6.33
NYSE	1,154.33	1,158.00	1,148.00	1,148.00	-6.33
NYSE	1,154.33	1,158.00	1,148.00	1,148.00	-6.33
NYSE	1,154.33	1,158.00	1,148.00	1,148.00	-6.33

AMEX Diaries					
Index	Open	High	Low	Last	Chg.
AMEX	1,154.33	1,158.00	1,148.00	1,148.00	-6.33
AMEX	1,154.33	1,158.00	1,148.00	1,148.00	-6.33
AMEX	1,154.33	1,158.00	1,148.00	1,148.00	-6.33
AMEX	1,154.33	1,158.00	1,148.00	1,148.00	-6.33

NASDAQ Index					
Index	Open	High	Low	Last	Chg.
NASDAQ	1,154.33	1,158.00	1,148.00	1,148.00	-6.33
NASDAQ	1,154.33	1,158.00	1,148.00	1,148.00	-6.33
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AMT	8.00	7.50	7.50	-0.50	-6.3%
AMT	7.00	6.50	6.50	-0.50	-7.1%

## New York Stocks Close Mixed

NEW YORK — Prices on the New York Stock Exchange were mixed at the close Friday in active trading.

The Dow Jones industrial average, up nearly five points at midsession after gaining 9.71 Thursday, was off 0.44 to 1,212.00.

Advances led declines by a 3-2 ratio among the 2,007 issues traded.

Turnover amounted to about 96.8 million shares, down from the 107.4 million traded Thursday.

Analysts noted that the stock market has been in a narrow range for some time, with resistance at 1,200 on the Dow industrials and upward resistance at 1,240. With one minor exception, the Dow industrials have not increased two days in a row since Oct. 11 and 12.

A weakening dollar on foreign exchange markets and a rebounding gold price helped some stocks but for most of the list it was a dull session.

Thomas Ryan of Kidder, Peabody said the stock market's strength at midday, when the Dow was up more than 4, occurred when dollar-sensitive multinationals attracted. Drug companies and others said their third quarter earnings were hurt by the dollar's strength in relation to foreign currencies.

Investors were not surprised by the Labor Department's report that the U.S. unemployment rate in October was 7.4 percent, unchanged from September.

A report Thursday showed new claims for unemployment benefits climbed to 426,000 from 392,000. The government also reported

Thursday that construction spending in September increased 1.1 percent.

Mr. Ryan said the unemployment report was a "slight negative" for fixed income markets but a non-event for the stock market.

Despite the recent erratic behavior of both markets, however, many Wall Streeters are looking for some easing of Federal Reserve credit policy after the election next Tuesday. They reason that conditions are ripe for such a move by the Fed. Once the election is settled, they maintain, the central bank can act as aggressively as it sees fit without seeming to be playing favorites politically.

Eastern Gas & Fuel was the biggest gainer on the active list, climbing 2 1/2 to 27 1/2 on takeover speculation and rumors. The company said it had not been approached by anyone about a possible merger, and Norfolk Southern Corp. said there was no basis for talk that it might be considering a bid for the company.

Many technology issues ran into selling pressure. Motorola dropped 1 1/2 to 33 1/2; Texas Instruments 1 1/2 to 122; Computer Science 1 1/2 to 40 1/2; GCA 1 1/2 to 22 1/2; Gerber Scientific 1 1/2 to 17 1/2; August 1 1/2 to 23 1/2; and National Semiconductor 1 1/2 to 11 1/2.

Some pharmaceutical issues, by contrast, gained ground. Upjohn rose 1 1/2 to 67 1/2; 40 and Merck 1 1/2 to 88 1/2.

Teconco was active with blocks of 750,000 shares at 36 3/4, 750,000 shares at 35 1/2 and 750,000 shares at 36 1/4.

American Electric Power (ex-dividend) also was active with blocks of 750,000 shares at 20 and a block of 250,000 shares at 20.

(UPI/AP)

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AMT	7.00	6.50			

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**6 MONTHS**

upon civilization. His dire  
message was: "The Jews  
are us." I have not thought  
of any religious teaching that  
isly inhuman as the Jews are  
represented in the book. No  
conscious motive, no "anti-se-  
mitism" on an equal plane with  
the religion of the Jewish people  
in it, that renders the moral  
A.

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**USA**  
SPECIAL ★ ISSUE

During the very latest American election results to our readers, the New York Herald Tribune will print a special election issue early the morning of November 7. This special edition will be published several hours after our regular edition in order to include up-to-the-minute news and projections from the presidential election and other U.S. contests.

The special edition will be on sale at newsstands in Paris and London the morning of November 7 and in the following cities:

Athens, Barcelona, Brussels, Cologne, Copenhagen, Frankfurt, Geneva, The Hague, Madrid, Milan, Monaco, Nice, Rome, Rotterdam, Schiphol Airport and Zurich.

Full results of the Senate, House and gubernatorial elections plus the state-by-state breakdown of the presidential vote will appear in the issue of Thursday, November 8.

Turn the page for a bargain price subscription offer!

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Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street

[illegible]**NASDAQ National Market Prices**[illegible]

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## UTC Panel Probes Charge That Chief Bugged Ousted Aide's Office, Home

The Associated Press

HARTFORD, Conn. — A special committee of United Technologies Corp. directors is investigating allegations that UTC's chairman, Harry J. Gray, was involved in the bugging of the office and home of the company's recently ousted president.

The investigation was initiated at the request of Robert J. Carlson, who was recently forced out of the company by Mr. Gray, according to a source close to the investigation who spoke only on condition that he not be otherwise identified.

Mr. Carlson confirmed Friday that an investigation was under way. When asked whether his home and office had been wiretapped, Mr. Carlson said, "That's what the committee is trying to determine."

"I think the committee has to deal with it," Mr. Carlson said in a telephone interview from his home in Avon, a suburb of Hartford.

Under Connecticut law, wiretapping is a felony.

The committee also is investigating allegations that Edward Hennessy, an earlier unsuccessful candidate to succeed Mr. Gray, also was the target of wiretaps while at United Technologies, the source said. Mr. Hennessy left UTC after battling with Mr. Gray and now is chairman of Allied Corp.

The Wall Street Journal reported Friday that allegations against Mr. Gray and UTC were raised by Mr.

Carlson and Mr. Hennessy. Mr. Gray has denied any involvement.

"I never bugged or wiretapped anybody, nor did I ever order anybody to do so," Mr. Gray was quoted as saying by The Journal.

A UTC spokesman reached Friday said he would not comment immediately.

The allegations came at a time when Mr. Gray is working without a contract. He is serving as chairman and chief executive at the pleasure of the board.

Mr. Gray, who will turn 65 Nov. 18, has reportedly been lobbying to remain atop the Hartford-based defense aerospace giant, which he helped shape.

United Technologies' subsidiaries include Pratt & Whitney, the world's largest builder of civilian and military jet engines; Sikorsky helicopters; Carrier air conditioning and air elevators. It earned \$509 million last year on sales totaling \$14.7 billion.

In mid-September, on Mr. Carlson's last day at United Technologies, the former president's office in the company's headquarters in downtown Hartford had been vacated, the source said. The Journal reported that a small group of executives witnessed the disarray.

"It was pretty evident when wall plates had been taken off and small signs had been made in precise places (in furniture) that some-

body is retrieving something," the source said.

The source also said Mr. Carlson's home has been broken into three times, although Avon police said Friday they have a record of only one break-in, which occurred Aug. 15. Police records indicate that nothing was stolen during the Aug. 15 break-in at the secluded 17-acre estate.

Police were alerted to the break-in at 11:13 that night by Mr. Carlson who after returning home with his son from dinner, surprised an intruder, police records show. The rest of the family was not home.

The source said the Aug. 15 break-in was the second of three. Following the Aug. 15 incident, Mr. Carlson asked for United Technologies' security people to make a check of his home for listening devices, The Journal reported. The check found nothing, Mr. Gray told the newspaper.

"The intrigue up there is unreal—it's like a James Bond novel," said William Simon, a UTC director and former Treasury secretary, was quoted by The Journal as saying.

The Journal reported that UTC directors became aware of the wiretapping allegations during a tumultuous meeting in September, during which the ouster of Mr. Carlson was completed. It was during that meeting that Mr. Carlson raised his concerns about being wiretapped.



Harry J. Gray

and intimidated UTC has something to do with it, Mr. Gray told the newspaper.

In contradiction to what The AP has learned, The Journal has quoted Mr. Gray and not Mr. Carlson as requesting that UTC investigate the wiretapping allegations.

You just can't let that kind of [in]nuendo hang around," Mr. Gray told the newspaper.

William Spencer, retired president of Citicorp and a United Technologies outside director, confirmed for the newspaper that Mr. Gray had asked for an investigation.

On Oct. 14, three directors were named to investigate the charges, the newspaper reported. The three are: Robert Dee, who also is chairman of Smith Barney; Beckman Corp.; Robert Malon, the chairman of FMC Corp.; and Darwin Smith, chairman of Kimberly-Clark Corp.

## Yugoslavia: Refocusing a Decentralized Economy

By Michael T. Kaufman

New York Times Service

SKOPIJE, Yugoslavia — Here, in the capital of Yugoslavia's Macedonia Republic, as in the rest of this mosaic of a country, the watchwords these days are restructuring the economy and getting rid of its chronic losses.

In Belgrade, federal officials and economists sketch out scenarios they hope will ease an international debt burden of \$20 billion, increase productivity and streamline an economy that in the past decade often has appeared to be moving in several directions at once. After all, this is a country that until recently had no effective central bank.

To this day, it is a country whose six republics administer separate shares of a rail network. Thus, a train has to switch locomotives every time it crosses republican borders, replacing, for example, a Slovenian engine with a Croatian one, then with a Serbian one.

"Things reached a point where even though our coal production has gone up 38 percent in the last year, there is a real question whether there will be enough coal in Belgrade this winter," said Oskar Kovacs, the dean of the economic faculty in Belgrade. "Several of the republican train systems are arguing over which one will carry the coal and, in the meanwhile, none of it is moving."

As the extent of Yugoslavia's debt problems grew obvious four years ago, Mr. Kovacs was one of the experts implored to draw up a long-range stabilization program. "I don't think that anyone in Yugoslavia knew how much debt had been accumulated," he said.

The decentralization that is plaguing Yugoslavia had been at the heart of the country's policies under the Tito regime. The six fed-

erated republics and two autonomous provinces gained more economic and political power as theoreticians of the Communist League warned against the dangers of permitting a paralyzing bureaucracy at the center.

This, according to the Yugoslav analysts, was exactly what happened in the Soviet Union and its East-bloc allies.

The antidote for a stultifying central bureaucracy was thought to be a broad decentralization of the economic decision-making process.

"But it wasn't until recently that anyone realized that, instead of one stultifying bureaucracy, they had established eight," said a Western diplomat here.

Even before the International Monetary Fund was called on for help and before the U.S. Embassy here orchestrated an effort to refinance the debt, the federal government, under Prime Minister Milka

Planinc, sought to strengthen accountability with the help of a long-term stabilization plan.

For one thing, over opposition from the richer republics, she strengthened the central bank.

For another, her government recently approved a rule that, by the beginning of next year, will set interest rates at least 1 percentage point above inflation.

In Belgrade, the liberal economists who are now in the ascendency have condemned practices that have allowed unprofitable enterprises to serve as sponges sopping up scarce capital.

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